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SPEECH MONOGRAPHS

Published by THE SPEECH ASSOCIATION OF AMERICA

VOLUME XXVII

MARCH, 1960

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RUSSELL H. WAGNER

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Parliamentary Reporting in 1800

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THOMAS WILSON'S *ARTE OF RHETORIQUE*

RUSSELL H. WAGNER

When Russell H. Wagner, chairman of the School of Speech and Drama at the University of Virginia, died in 1952, he left among his papers, well advanced toward completion, a critical edition with commentary of Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique*. Mr. Wagner's studies of Wilson had been the work of many years. Originally undertaken for his doctoral thesis at Cornell University, they had yielded a series of short bibliographical and interpretative articles which radically revised our notions of the sources, text, editions, and significance of Wilson's book. The first of these articles appeared in 1929: "Wilson and His Sources," in *QJS* (XV, 525-536), and "The Text and Editions of the *Arte of Rhetorique*," in *Modern Language Notes* (XLIV, 421-428). These were followed by "Thomas Wilson's Contributions to Rhetoric," in *Papers in Rhetoric*, ed. Donald C. Bryant (St. Louis, 1940), pp. 1-7; "Thomas Wilson's Speech Against Usury," in *QJS* (XXXVIII, 13-22); and various brief notes. All these and other chapters on Wilson's life, his conception of rhetoric, his influence, and his skill as rhetorical practitioner Mr. Wagner intended to bring together, with a definitive text, into a major work on Wilson and his rhetoric.

While Wilbur Samuel Howell's recent treatment of Wilson in his *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700* (Princeton, 1956) throws new light on the sources of the *Arte*, Mr. Wagner's account of Wilson's life and his exposition of Wilson's rhetorical theory remain the most thorough and comprehensive treatments yet given these subjects. For this reason, with the permission of Mrs. Helen Friend Wagner, his widow, and of Professor Herbert A. Wichelns, his literary executor, *SM*, of which Mr. Wagner was editor, 1942-1947, presents for the first time two portions of his manuscript, the chapters on "The Author and His Age" and "Wilson's Conception of Rhetoric."

We present what appears to be Mr. Wagner's latest revision. The quotations from the *Rhetorique* are taken from the first edition (1553), which he intended to use as his basic text. Page references, however, have been altered to conform to the more generally available edition of the *Arte* by G. H. Mair (Oxford, 1909), which is based on the 1585 text. Mr. Wagner had modernized the text because, as he wrote, he wished "to present Wilson's views in an orthography which will not distract the reader unaccustomed to sixteenth-century type, punctu-

ation, and spelling." No changes were made, however, in syntax or vocabulary. We have retained the quoted passages as Mr. Wagner had them.

The materials here presented were selected and edited by Professor Donald C. Bryant of the State University of Iowa.

The Editor

THE AUTHOR AND HIS AGE

1.

IN 1553 Thomas Wilson's *The Arte of Rhetorique* was published by Richard Grafton in London. The most immediate effect of this occurrence, following hard upon his publication of *The Rule of Reason* or *Logike*, in 1551, was that, according to the Prologue he wrote for the 1560 re-printing of the *Rhetorique*, the author was forced to flee to Italy on the accession of Queen Mary to escape official investigation of opinions unfavorable to the Roman Church expressed in these books. But the real significance of the appearance of this work in its own time, as well as in ours, is far greater than the effects, however painful, which Wilson has so vividly recounted.

Of foremost importance is the fact that this is the first complete rhetoric in English. The author's prefatory remarks and his and his friends' commendatory poems leave no doubt that they considered it the first rhetoric of any kind in English, and that they deemed it a highly significant contribution to English culture. Strict impartiality requires some qualification, however

slight, of the claim to primacy. About 1531, Leonard Cox had published *The Arte or Crafte of Rhethoryke*, and in 1550 Richard Sherry had brought out his *Treatise of Schemes and Tropes*. Cox, however, confined himself to the invention and, to a slighter extent, the disposition of subject matter. Sherry, in the manner of many Latin rhetorics of the time, deals almost wholly with stylistic devices—figures of thought and speech. Wilson's work, on the other hand, treats fully of the five classical divisions—invention, disposition, elocution, memory, and delivery.

Cox and Sherry conceived of rhetoric very narrowly compared to Wilson. To both it was but the art of expansion of bare outline; to Cox it was the art of multiplying subject matter; to Sherry, as to most of his English predecessors, it was the art of aureate language—stylistic embellishment. Moreover, both, in the manner of late medieval rhetorics, gave almost no attention to the problems of public address and, indeed, rarely refer to the speaker. Wilson, on the other hand, addressed his work to all those "who are studious of Eloquence," and continually refers to oral address and to the typical speakers of the day—as did the best of his classical sources.

An important part of the claim for primacy, and for general significance, is the character and purpose of the *Rhetorique*. Cox had been content to translate a rhetorical work of Melancthon's written early in the sixteenth century and based on medieval adaptations of treatises like Cicero's *De Inventione*. Sherry, too, is largely indebted to medieval sources. Cox intended his book to be an aid to schoolboys, as, perhaps, did Sherry. Wilson endeavored to use the best of Cicero including the *De Oratore*, of Quintilian and others like them. He did not confine himself to translation—in fact there is little direct

translation from the ancients to be found in the book, though many scholars have classified it among the sixteenth-century translations from the classics. Wilson aimed to select the best principles suited to the inculcation of eloquence, or effective public address in English in the England of his day, to adapt, to supplement, and to expand from his own experience and observation according to need; and he obviously wrote the book for mature persons—lawyers, preachers, and the like.

In short, the *Rhetorique* was wholly without parallel in its language, and more nearly resembles, allowing for differing conditions of the times and purposes, the *Rhetoric* of Aristotle, the *De Oratore* of Cicero, and the *Institutio Oratoria* of Quintilian, than any rhetorics hitherto appearing in England.

It is certainly no first system of criticism in our language, as Warton called it, nor a treatise mainly on figures, based on a barren outline from ancient sources, as Baldwin once thought, nor an historical curiosity, as Mair, Wilson's only modern editor, regarded it, but the first attempt in English to enunciate a full, rounded, set of principles for artistic prose composition, in particular for those engaged in public, oral communication in the vernacular.

The importance of Wilson's treatise in its influence on the language and on the conception of public address which has persisted among most English-speaking peoples, would be more appropriately considered elsewhere. Here it is proper to note that it interested many in its own time, since it reached eight editions or printings in its century—1553, 1560, 1562, 1563, 1567, 1580, 1584, 1585. Perhaps the increasing political prominence of its author, who became Secretary of State in Queen Elizabeth's cabinet in 1580, was partly responsible for the popularity of the book. But this

in no way diminishes the putative influence of the work in its time or in later years.

2.

To explain the appearance in the middle of the sixteenth century of a work unique of its kind in its language, and as significant for its influence, requires some attention to the man who wrote the book, his upbringing and education, especially his times, the social and political forces to which he was subjected, and the leading spirits with whom he was associated and by whom he was inspired and influenced. First, the man claims our attention.

Thomas Wilson was born at Strubby, in Lincoln, twenty-five miles from the city of that name, about 1525. Of his parents or other relatives or ancestors we know nothing except that his father, Thomas Wilson, had married Aime, the "daughter and heiress of Roger Dumberworth."¹

¹ The materials for Wilson's biography that can be fully trusted are meager indeed, consisting mainly of manuscripts in the British Museum, a few statements culled from the official records of the times, and a very few references to Wilson in the writings of his contemporaries. Alfred W. Pollard's article on Wilson in *DNB*, confined mainly to these sources, is by far the most trustworthy and has gone astray only in its references to the dates of printings and first printer of the *Rhetorique*.

Other biographies, especially those found in Thomas Fuller's *History of the Worthies of England* ([London, 1662], II, 159 ff.) and David Lloyd's *State Worthies or the Favorites and Statesmen of England* ([London, 1670], pp. 390 ff.) give many details not found elsewhere, but are undocumented for the most part. William Cole's account (BM Add. MS. 5815 [?1748], pp. 40-45), is a full treatment, and in part well documented, but contains a number of chronological errors and is at some points too dependent on Lloyd to be wholly trusted. The article on Wilson by Arthur Collins (i.e. Thomas Wotton) in *The English Baronetage* ([London, 1741], III, Part I, 244-248), borrows heavily from Lloyd (without acknowledgment) and appears to be the first among a number of sources to assume, without foundation, that Wilson was knighted; he is not infrequently thereafter referred to as "Sir Thomas Wilson" by various writers—even in our own day, by

The complete anonymity of Wilson's family and the nature of his relationships with the patrons to whom he was early attached argue an upper middle-class origin.

Wilson studied at Eton, and entered Cambridge in 1541. He received the B.A. from that university in 1545 (1546) and the M.A. in 1549, remaining in residence at Cambridge until 1553.

While at Cambridge, and perhaps earlier, he attracted the attention of prominent people from his native Lincolnshire. Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk, chose him as tutor to her two sons, Henry and Charles Brandon. Wilson composed the *Rhetorique* while spending a vacation at the home of Sir Edward Dymoke, King's Champion; his first political patron was William Cecil, later Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer; both these prominent persons were Lincoln men.

As a student at Eton, Wilson was undoubtedly educated under an essentially medieval curriculum, eked out, in rhetoric, by Mosellanus' *Figurae*, Erasmus' *De Copia Verborum et Factorum*, and Despautier's *Ars Epistolica*.² At Eton,

T. W. Baldwin (*William Shakespeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* [Urbana, Ill., 1944], I, 81, 102). The anonymous article on Wilson in *The Gentleman's Magazine* (III, n.s. [May 1835], pp. 468-475), is mostly unreliable, drawing mainly on Collins. Charles Henry Cooper's biographical note in *Athenae Cantabrigienses* ([Cambridge, 1858], I, 434-437), is well founded except for too much reliance on Cole. Anthony à Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses* ([Oxford, 1721], p. 98), and G. H. Mair's biographical account in his edition of Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* ([Oxford, 1909], pp. v-xv), are uncritical. Richard H. Tawney, in his introduction to his edition of Wilson's *A Discourse Upon Usurye* ([London, 1925], pp. 3 ff.), depends in part on the legends of Lloyd and Fuller. George W. Kitchen's account of Wilson in *The Seven Sages of Durham* (London, 1911), does not reveal any acceptable sources. Christina H. Garrett (*The Marian Exiles* [Cambridge, 1938]), in her references to Wilson during his seven-year exile in Italy, provides full documentation.

² Arthur F. Leach, *The Schools of Medieval England* (New York, 1915), p. 304. See also Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine*, I, 134-163.

we may be sure, he had been taught from a tender age to read, write, and speak Latin in all his classes and even at play. It is probable that disputation in Latin, supplementary to the study of logic, of course, was the chief type of oral discourse practiced.³ Besides this, he no doubt was exercised, according to the custom of the schools of his time, in oral paraphrasing, in reading aloud, and in writing verses, epistles, and declamations—all these, of course, in Latin.⁴

At Cambridge, the curriculum was based on the medieval *trivium* and *quadrivium*. If we are to judge by the language of the Statutes of Edward VI, issued in 1549, the regular studies at Cambridge before that time included little rhetoric, and that probably not from classical sources.⁵ But, whether part of the official curriculum or not, the reading of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and other ancient writers on rhetoric was enthusiastically pursued by Wilson under the guidance of Sir John Cheke.⁶

In 1551 Wilson, together with Walter Haddon, published the *Vita et obitus duorum fratrum*, a set of verses and epistles in Latin constituting a kind of biography of his noble pupils, the two sons of the Duchess of Suffolk, who had recently died. In the same year appeared his *Rule of Reason conteinyng the Arte of Logike sette Forthe in Englishe*. Two years later *The Arte of Rhetorique* was published.

³ Foster Watson, *The English Grammar Schools to 1660* (Cambridge, 1908), pp. 305-311.

⁴ *Ibid.* See also Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Small Latine*, I, 92-93.

⁵ The "quadrivium" and "trivium" were not recast until 1549. See James W. Mullinger, *The University of Cambridge from the Royal Injunctions of 1533 to the Accession of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1884), II, 111; and Watson, *English Grammar Schools*, p. 86.

⁶ The sources used by Wilson in the *Rhetorique*, chiefly Cicero, Quintilian, Erasmus, and the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, he undoubtedly studied at Cambridge, whether under direction or on his own account.

In his preface to *The Rule of Reason* Wilson says he was strongly urged to produce that work by the printer, Richard Grafton. Since the same printer published the *Rhetorique*, two years later, we may presume that Grafton also solicited the latter work. Certainly printers of that day found the publication of such works highly profitable. It is well known that the demand for books in English on such subjects far exceeded the supply.⁷ The desire to maintain and increase the respect and support of his patrons may also have actuated the author, to some extent. In the dedicatory epistle to Lord John Dudley, Earl of Warwick, Wilson says he had promised the Earl the year before to set forth the precepts of rhetoric "in English, as I had erst done the rules of Logike," and having an opportunity while spending a summer vacation at Sir Edward Dymoke's home, had managed to fulfill his promise.

More important, by far, however, were the influences of the times and his associates in explaining the appearance of the *Rhetorique*.

Wilson's life roughly spans the period in which the most important changes in centuries affecting the mass of the people in England took place. When he was born in 1525, England was still, so far as most persons were concerned, a feudal society, governed by an absolute monarch who joyed in being known as a zealous defender of the Roman Catholic faith. It is true that the revival of learning in the universities and a few other English centers, the voyages of discovery of a few intrepid seamen, the increase in trade and the rise of local industries, and the spread of the Reformation abroad, had begun to affect the lives

⁷ Louis B. Wright, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill, 1935), pp. 80, 81, 340. See also Lewis Einstein, *Tudor Ideals* (New York, 1921), pp. 338-340.

and thoughts of more and more persons. It is also true that the economic and social stratification of the twelfth century was rapidly being broken, and that educational and business opportunities were beginning to be available to deserving youths of the middle and even of the lower classes.

But for most persons, England in the early sixteenth century was still a medieval, authoritarian society, most of whose members were hardly aware that they were citizens of an English nation, so firmly fixed was the idea of a universal Catholic world, in which the language of church, school, the law courts, the professions, and most social institutions was Latin (though few were they who could read, write, or understand it), and almost nothing was in English (save the everyday speech of almost everyone).

When Wilson died, in 1581, England was Protestant; the House of Commons was beginning to assert the right of free speech. English was a proud language in spite of a Bacon here or there. England was a proud nation, in spite of the loss of Continental lands. The rise from class to class was commonplace, the spirit of modern business enterprise was waxing rapidly, and Englishmen of all classes were sailing uncharted seas, writing and speaking in English on all subjects, preparing to revolt or to emigrate on the principle of individual freedom, economic and religious.

That these changes, understate them as we should, occurred in one lifetime, is remarkable. We know well their general causes in Europe as a whole. We know that feudal institutions had been weakening for at least two centuries. We know that a combination of causes, undoubtedly interrelated to some extent, such as the rediscovery of the literature, philosophy, and science of Greece and Rome, the religious reforma-

tion, and the discovery of new lands in the West, all conspired to break the authoritarian bonds of the past and to create a new society, chiefly resulting in new nationalisms, new languages and cultures, and a new social organization in which the common man could hope to rise by his own efforts to an extent undreamed of before.

But the direction of this revolution and the rapidity with which it was accomplished in England, were somewhat peculiar and distinctive. No doubt the accidents of geographic location, of Henry VIII's break with the church and subsequent religious changes, of the youth and weakness of Edward VI, of the hated interregnum of intolerance and persecution of Mary, and of the vacillation of Elizabeth, were important factors in hastening the development of a freer society and a more nationalistic culture on a far broader base of class-free citizenship.

But never would one be more mistaken than in supposing that blind chance or inexorable fate, or other forces undirected by organized men accounted wholly or mainly for such changes as then occurred. Many were the persons and groups that vigorously and unremittingly sought to direct and accelerate one or more of the forces at work, or to create dynamic pressures. Among them, not the least, were groups of prominent persons settled at universities—especially, during Wilson's most formative years, at Cambridge.

We have no reason to suppose that Thomas Wilson, when he came to Cambridge in 1541, was more than a good student or that he was imbued with other ideas than perfecting himself in the studies regularly offered. We can well believe that, because of his lowly origin, he early concentrated all his powers in demonstrating that the confidence of his noble patrons in his

scholarly abilities had not been misplaced. That he became an excellent Latinist is plain, for his collaboration with Walter Haddon in the preparation of his first published work, the *Vita et Obita* in Latin, and his contributions in Latin to *Lucubrationes*, and to other works of Haddon, are strong evidence that he was so regarded. Haddon himself was one of the best Latinists of the day ("the best Latin man in England!" Wilson says), and was frequently chosen to represent England in important disputations with the Roman church. Of Wilson's merits in other regular studies we have little direct evidence; but he appears to have been highly regarded and was encouraged by those in authority, after securing the bachelor's degree in 1546, to work for the master's, and after securing it in 1549, to enter upon advanced study, to teach, and to publish.

But sometime between 1541 and 1549, Wilson entered into close relations with men who were not only important university administrators, and teachers and scholars of a high order, but who were active leaders in the political, religious, cultural, and social reformation of the nation, and, most important, were anxious to win over as many persons as possible to their cause—not only prominent and able scholars in universities, like Wilson, but, through him and others like him, through the preaching, teaching, writing, and ceaseless plotting and planning of all such able and loyal persons, to reach all Englishmen, of every class, who could be induced to read or give ear.

Of these the most prominent were Sir John Cheke, tutor of Prince Edward (later Edward VI), provost of King's College, professor of Greek, and public orator of the University; Sir Thomas Smith, vice-chancellor of the University and later Secretary of State, or Princi-

pal Secretary; John Redman, master of Trinity College; Walter Haddon; Martin Bucer, who had been a prominent Protestant reformer on the Continent; and Roger Ascham, whose fame as tutor of Elizabeth and as educational reformer has outlived that of the rest, and has overshadowed his zeal for the political and religious causes common to all.

These men were interested in divergent projects. Redman and Ascham were particularly desirous of changing the scholasticism of the curriculum and improving methods of teaching in schools and universities; Cheke and Smith, quite naturally, because of age, position, and learning, were especially concerned with reviving the best of Greek and Roman literature and philosophy; Cheke and Smith were also particularly interested in improving the English language and increasing its use, and Cheke especially gave much thought to reforms in English orthography and spelling.⁸ But all this group—even Haddon, the Latinist, and Bucer, the non-English Lutheran—were firmly united and, especially in the six years of Edward's rule, ceaselessly busy in the multifold work of reviving and disseminating the Greek and Latin classics, in popularizing the use of English, and in improving the methods of education. All this, they believed, was essential to the accomplishing of their central purposes—to establish and strengthen a new political state and a strong Protestant church,

⁸ Cheke's special interest was almost equally divided between his desire to popularize, by publications in English translations, the best Greek and Latin classics, his efforts to make English a language as rich and serviceable and popular as any other had ever been, his outspoken opposition to any unnecessary borrowings from other languages, and his attempts to reform English orthography and spelling. His letter, written in 1557, to Thomas Hoby, and printed in the latter's introduction to his translation of Castiglione's *Courtier* (1561), reveals these varied but related interests better than any of his other writings now extant.

and to build both on a body politic composed of as many persons as possible, especially from the large middle class, who would be educated in English in the best of Greek and Roman thought, would be able to learn the truths of religion in the vernacular by reading them, and would be able to express their ideas effectively in their own language.

It was to such a group that Wilson was for some reason attracted, whether because he was a very promising scholar or because he was a fervent Protestant, we do not know.⁹ Whether he accepted an invitation to join the group because he, a commoner, was flattered by this evidence of esteem on the part of those better born, we can only conjecture. One thing is certain—Wilson was the youngest of the group, and least advanced in his scholarly career; he was still a student. Perhaps, therefore, because he was an excellent Latinist, because he was not actively engaged in university teaching or in politics or public affairs—and almost the only one not so busied—and because he was still at his books, it fell to his lot to advance the cause by producing a logic and a rhetoric in English. So far as rhetoric was concerned, it was no doubt a thoroughly congenial assignment. Coming from the middle class as he did, Wilson could not have failed to see how appropriate—nay, how supremely important—were the lessons rhetoric had to teach the great mass of unlearned but

rapidly rising members of that group. That he, who had but recently been one of the mute and inarticulate, should be chosen to unlock and display abroad the treasures of eloquence hitherto unavailable to his own class, cannot have failed to call forth his best efforts. That he was so inspired, is in fact apparent at more than one place in the *Rhetorique*.¹⁰

¹⁰ See his prefatory poem and pp. 36, 38, 159, 160. (Page references here and throughout refer to the previously mentioned Mair edition of the *Rhetorique*.) While all evidence available supports the presumption that Wilson wrote his *Rhetorique*—and his *Logike*—for the unlearned, and primarily for the middle class, his socio-economic philosophy in the *Rhetorique* is not without some apparent contradictions. In the first place, his dedication of the work to Lord John Dudley is, as Tawney has noted in his edition of *A Discourse Upon Usurye* (p. 3), far from reassuring, since this nobleman and his notorious father, the Duke of Northumberland, were regarded in their time as arrant oppressors of the poor and landless. In the Preface Wilson seems to be currying favor with such reactionaries by implying that the ideal society is one in which each person is content "to live in his own vocation," and does not "seek any higher room than whereunto he was first appointed."

Otherwise, however, Wilson in the *Rhetorique* consistently applauds the efforts of the middle and lower classes to improve their condition through education and economic enterprise, as the pages cited above indicate. The most notable apparent exception, that singled out by Tawney, in which Wilson seems to take the side of the rich against the poor in the enclosure controversy, must be read in the context of his scathing denunciation of the rich for robbing the poor of their plowlands (*Rhetorique*, pp. 34, 69, 70). On close examination, the passage cited by Tawney thus appears not to support his presumption.

The fact is, then, that Wilson in the *Rhetorique* as a whole shows a strong sympathy with the lower and middle classes. We should hardly expect his socio-economic views to be as clear and consistent, or as prominent here as in the *Usurye*, where he so vehemently attacks the exploiters of the poor and the struggling lower middle class. His social creed, to which in all his printed works he consistently subscribed, is best revealed in *The Three Orations of Demosthenes* ([London, 1570], p. 106): "But whatsoever he be, poor or rich, low or high, craftsman or landed man, if he be virtuous and godly, he is a gentleman. But he that can do nothing, or will do nothing, either is no gentleman in deed, or unfittly beareth the name of gentleman."

⁹ Direct contemporaneous evidence of Wilson's close working association with this group is almost non-existent, but other evidence, most of which is given here, is ample. Besides the sources here given we may add Wilson's account of his relations with Cheke in his introduction to *The Three Orations of Demosthenes*, Ascham's many references to Wilson in his letters (*The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. Giles [London, 1865], I, Part I, 168, 209, 210, 263, 283) and Edward Grant's inclusion of Wilson in the group cited as responsible for the rise of the new humanism at Cambridge in his memorial oration on Ascham (*ibid.*, III, 310).

If Wilson did not grasp the value of rhetoric in the promulgation of a new state, a new religion, and a new society, in his Eton and regular Cambridge studies, because the rhetoric there taught was the barren medieval subject of the scholiast, it must have been impressed upon him in the many informal sessions in Sir John Cheke's rooms and in his daily conversations with Cheke, Smith, and others. Their discovery of the meaning and teachings of the great rhetorics of Rome and Greece became at once their key to the cultural storehouse of antiquity, and their best instrument for raising up devoted followers in their plans for a new world. In reviving an appreciation of the culture, philosophy, and literary excellence of the best Greek and Latin writers, they emphasized eloquence, both in its practice and in its theory.

Roger Ascham, in a report to Archbishop Cranmer in 1547, thus described the studies of the group fathered by Cheke and Smith:

That for oratory, they plied Plato and Aristotle; from whose fountains among the Greeks, *loquens illa prudentia* (as he styled oratory) that speaking prudence might be fetched. And to these among the Latins they added Cicero. They conversed also in Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, the three lights of chronology, truth, and Greek eloquence; and which brought a great lustre to their other studies.¹¹

Sir John Cheke was in this respect, as in many others, the inspiring leader. Of him Strype writes:

For he was a great master of language, and a happy imitator of the great orator: and *Facundus*, i. e., Eloquent, was the epithet thought proper for him. . . . His presence and society inspired the University with the love of learning; and the youth every where addicted themselves to the reading and studying of the best authors for pure Roman style and Grecian eloquence: such as Cicero and Demosthenes,

¹¹ Quoted in John Strype, *Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer* (Oxford, 1812), I, 240.

laying aside their old barbarous writers and schoolmen with their nice and unprofitable questions.¹²

At the termination of Cheke's active teaching at Cambridge, in 1547, Ascham wrote:

For by ye great commoditie we toke in hearyng hym reade privatly in his chambre all Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Isocrates and Plato, we feele the great discomoditie in not hearyng of hym. Aristotle and Demosthenes, which ii. authours with all diligence last of all thought to have redde unto us.¹³

Ascham elsewhere gives us his estimate of the quality and enthusiasm of the study of ancient orators and rhetoricians at Cambridge in this period, when he describes its interruption in 1553, when, at the death of Edward VI and the accession of Mary,

. . . Duns, with all the Rabble of barbarous Questionists, should have dispossessed of their Place and Room Aristotle, Plato, Tully, and Demosthenes; whom good Mr. Redman and those two worthy stars of that University, Mr. Cheke and Mr. Smith, with their Scholars, had brought to flourish as notably in Cambridge, as ever they did in Greece, and in Italy; and for the Doctrin of these four, the four Pillars of Learning, Cambridge then giving place to no University, neither in France, Spain, Germany, nor Italy.¹⁴

But why did Wilson publish the *Logike* first, and the *Rhetorique* later, if rhetoric was so important in the work of the Cambridge reformers? The answer seems to be at least twofold. First, though rhetoric was now waxing, logic had long been of vital importance in the education of learned men, and was no doubt deemed indispensable in the armamentarium of the persons this group hoped to raise up to defend the

¹² John Strype, *The Life of Sir John Cheke* (Oxford, 1821), p. 12.

¹³ *Toxophilus* (1545), in *English Works*, ed. William A. Wright (Cambridge, 1904), p. 45.

¹⁴ *The Schoolmaster*, ed. James Upton (London, 1740), p. 170.

new faith and the new state. Of lesser importance may have been a feeling for the propriety of this order. Haddon, in his verses commending both books, suggests that since grammar had been made English, it was proper that logic should be next, and that rhetoric should follow. After all, this was the order of the three in the *trivium*.

Wilson, in his various books, reveals fully the reasons, attributed above to the times and his associates, for the publication of the *Rhetorique*. In his prefatory poem, dedicatory epistle, and preface, he plainly states that he hopes to enable all who desire to be eloquent in English to become so by studying these principles, hitherto available only to those who knew Latin or Greek. That he meant his work to have the widest possible use, hoped it would be read and studied by persons of all classes, thought that no more education than the ability to read English was indispensable in learning from its pages, and hoped to influence persons of all types and classes, so long as they were heartily in favor of the new regime, there can be little doubt. Wilson never suggests that a classical or college education is essential to the acquisition of eloquence. What is chiefly needed, he says, is will power. It is plain that what he had said in his dedication of the *Logike* is also his platform for the study of rhetoric. His pronouncement there on the possibilities of learning practical wisdom from books in English would seem to apply as well to the acquisition of practical eloquence from an English handbook.

For, considering the forwardnesse of this age, wherein the very multitude are prompt and ripe in al Sciences that have by any mans diligence bene sett forth unto them: weighing also that capacitie of my country men the Englishnation is so pregnant and quicke to achive any kynde, or Arte, of knowledge, whereunto wit maie attain, that they are not inferiour to

any other: . . . but have . . . made every of them familiar to their vulgare people.¹⁵

In fact, he argues in the *Rhetorique* that he thinks the unwise may acquire wisdom by associating with the wise, and the unlearned may acquire eloquence by studying the words of those who are learned. Clearly, the book was written chiefly for the unlearned.

There is also much to indicate that Wilson wrote the *Rhetorique*, as other of his books, to increase the general pride in English culture and the learning being published in English. He could hardly have associated so long with Cheke and Smith without acquiring something of this incentive. He must have considered often what Ascham had said a few years earlier:

If any man woulde blame me eyther for takyng such a matter in hande, or els for writing it in the Englyshe tongue, this answere I may make hym, that when the beste of the realme thinke it honest for them to use, I one of the meanest sorte, ought not to suppose it vile for me to write: . . . And as for ye Latin or Greke tonge, everything is so excellently done in them, that none can do better. In the Englysh tongue contrary everything is a maner so meanly, bothe for the matter and handelyng, that no man can do worse.¹⁶

Perhaps he had noted also Thomas Elyot's explanation that he had written *The Boke Named the Governour*, in English in 1531, "in order to augment our Englyshe tongue whereby men shulde as well express more abundantly the thuyng that they conceyued in their hartis."¹⁷ At any rate, Wilson must have had this much in mind, though, except for obvious references to it in the prefatory poems, not much is said about it in the *Rhetorique*.

More plain is Wilson's purpose of

¹⁵ *The Rule of Reason conteinyng the Arte of Logike* (1563), A2v.

¹⁶ *Toxophilus*, pp. xiii-xiv.

¹⁷ Preface, *The Knowledge Which Maketh a Wise Man* (1553).

improving English itself, as a written and oral language. His famous attack on "ink-horn terms" shows his concern, as in Cheke's case, for the purity of the language. His emphasis on careful choice of words, amplification, and effective use of vivid language, show that he aimed to make English as expressive and eloquent as the ancient tongues.

Among all his purposes none is more important than that which was central in the program of his Cambridge associates—the desire to raise up as many as possible who would be leaders, each in his own place and manner, of the new religion and the new state. It was for this purpose that Wilson wished to inculcate eloquence in English in the willing but unlearned reader. It is for this reason that Wilson gives so much attention to the preacher and his rhetorical problems, and, next, to the lawyer. The work breathes at all points an outspoken admiration of the new reforms in religion and the great changes in education and national achievement. The author constantly urges increasing study and dissemination of the new doctrines, secular and ecclesiastical. Small wonder, then, that he who aimed to raise up eloquent promulgators of the political and religious reformation begun under Henry VIII and so vigorously prosecuted under Edward VI, should be among those marked for special attention by the reactionaries who came to power at the accession of Mary.

3.

Wilson's career, following the publication of the *Rhetorique*, was a distinguished one, and sheds light on the purposes and influences of that book. As Wilson himself says in the Prologue to the 1560 edition, he was forced to flee the country on the accession of Mary late in 1553. Italy was chosen as the place of exile, probably because he

wished to continue his associations with Cheke and others who had fled thither, and with them to plan for the revival of the reformed church in England.¹⁸ Moreover, in Italy he would be closest to the origins of the new learning and could continue his studies in civil law which had been interrupted by the change of rulers in England.

We know little of Wilson's five or six years in Italy.¹⁹ It is proper to say that he continued to study, but that he substituted practical politics for the teaching and writing in which he had been engaged at Cambridge. He studied at Padua, and there heard Cheke lecture on Demosthenes and "interpret" his leading orations.²⁰ He was engaged as an advocate at Rome in the Chelmsford case in 1557. In 1559 he was involved in an intrigue against Cardinal Pole, papal ambassador to England, was imprisoned, and as he says, tortured by the Inquisition because of his religious views expressed in the *Logike* and *Rhetorique*. Released by civil interference, possibly during the confusion attendant on the death of Pope Paul IV,²¹ he continued his studies at the University of Ferrara which granted him the LL.D. diploma in November, 1559.

Returning to England in 1560, a little over a year after Elizabeth had come to the throne, Wilson rapidly achieved political prominence. He was appointed Master of St. Katherine's Hospital and a master of the Court of Requests in 1560. He was elected to Parliament in 1562 (1563) and later in 1571 and 1572. He made himself the leading authority on Portuguese and Dutch affairs, and

¹⁸ Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, p. 339.

¹⁹ Pollard's biographical sketch in *DNB* and Garrett, *The Marian Exiles*, are the best sources on this period of Wilson's life.

²⁰ See Wilson, *The Three Orations of Demosthenes*, Ded. Epist. *1r.

²¹ See Wilson's account in the Prologue of the *Rhetorique*, and Kitchin, *Seven Sages*, p. 74.

was frequently sent abroad on commercial and political embassies. He was probably a member of the Privy Council before 1577, but, at any rate, became Secretary of State (Principal Secretary, with Sir Francis Walsingham, his personal friend) in that year, taking the place of Sir Thomas Smith, Principal Secretary.²² Though a layman, he was made Dean of Durham in 1579 (1580). He resigned as Secretary of State in March, 1581, and died on June 16, of that year.

When Wilson, on his return to England in 1560, was asked to republish the *Arte of Rhetorique*, he agreed to another edition but wrote a Prologue refusing to revise the work and announcing his determination to refrain from further writing, giving as his reason the trouble his books had caused him while in Italy.

This resolution he kept except for two works, published in 1570 and 1572. Both were important and carefully prepared. The first was *The Three Orations of Demosthenes* etc., a translation into English of the three orations for the Olynthians and the four against Philip, together with a life of the orator, a description of Athens, and selected quotations from ancient and contemporary writers concerning Demosthenes.²³ This was the first translation of Demosthenes' important orations into English. The second work was *A Discourse Upon Usurye*, 1572.²⁴ Other brief

letters, reports, and speeches, mainly concerned with state business, are found in various published sources, and speeches and observations are preserved in manuscript.²⁵ But Wilson's fame as a writer rests almost wholly on his first two treatises—the *Logike*, of which there were six editions; and to a greater extent, upon the *Rhetorique*, issued eight times in its century, and once in our own.

WILSON'S CONCEPTION OF RHETORIC

1.

It is of considerable importance to understand just what it was that Thomas Wilson meant to teach, under the rubric of rhetoric, to the unlearned but potential leaders of the new England. To perceive this accurately we must consider not only his plain definitions, the scope and content of his doctrine, as a whole and part by part, but also how it resembles or differs from the rhetoric current in his time, and the rhetorics—for they were many and diverse—to which his studies, orthodox and unorthodox, at Cambridge, led him.

It is obvious that until only a few years before Wilson set to work on his *Arte of Rhetorique*, rhetoric had meant to him what it meant to the typical scholar and writer of the day. Through the long passage of time since the decline of free institutions in republican Rome, confined in practice to writing, and, to an ever lessening extent, to speaking in the language of scholars, rhetoric was no longer the art of the persuasive speaker, but the art of ornamentation of style in Latin composition. It is true that its lessons were applicable to English prose; but those poets and scholars (not in schools or colleges, for the most part) who so applied it, thought of it as lim-

²² Conyers Read, *Sir Francis Walsingham and the Policy of Queen Elizabeth* (Oxford, 1925), I, 267.

²³ Wilson proudly admits Cheke's leadership in translating Demosthenes (Ded. Epist.), but does not indicate how much of the published work was Cheke's, how much his own. He seems to take full responsibility, if not credit, for the translation. Strype (*Life of Cheke*, p. 96), says that at least the first three orations as translated were done by Cheke.

²⁴ The translation of Demosthenes was not re-issued, but the *Usurye* reached a second printing (1583), and has been republished in the previously mentioned edition by Tawney.

²⁵ For a complete list of Wilson's writings, see Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, I, 436.

ited to written English, chiefly poetry, and largely to stylistic embellishment.²⁶

Wilson did not easily abandon the conception widely current in his time. In his *Rule of Reason*, published in 1551, only two years before the *Rhetorique*, he still thought of rhetoric as style or verbal dress—the art of ornamentation, with a slight admixture of amplification. He defines logic and rhetoric in this manner:

Bothe these Artes are moche like, sauving that Logike is occupied about all matters, and dooeth plainlie and nakedly set forth with apt wordes, the sum of things, by the way of argumentacion. Again of the other side, Rhetorike vseth gaie painted sentences and setteth forth those matters with freshe colours, and goodly ornamentes, and that at large.²⁷

In a quaint poem in the *Logike* we also read:

Grammar doeth teache to vtire wordes:
To speake bothe apte and plain.
Logike by Arte, settes forth the trueth,
And doeth tell what is vaine.
Rhetorike at large paintes well the cause,
And make that seme right gaie,
Which Logike spake but at a woorde
And taught vs by the waie
. . . .²⁸

By 1553, however, Wilson's view of rhetoric had greatly changed. Whether the teachings of Cheke and others bore fruit in a new conception, or whether the task of preparing a rhetoric which would make the English eloquent in their own tongue had driven him to closer grips with the ancient principles of oratory so recently read, we know not. At any rate, it is plain that he had re-examined those classics which taught that rhetoric is not merely the art of fine phrasing but the whole art of the orator, that its end is persuasion, that

the work of the orator is to find (or "invent") topics and arguments or proofs, to organize and proportion ideas in a manner best suited to the particular audience and situation, to phrase them effectively, to master them mnemonically, and to deliver them successfully. He had read that the means of persuasion involved the speaker's own character or *ethos* and the arousing of the proper emotions of the audience, as well as sound evidence and logical reasoning. He well knew that in ancient times rhetoric was the organon or key-stone of an educational discipline which constituted a broad, humane, culture; and that the chief product of this discipline, the orator, was ideally at least a philosopher, statesman, and litterateur, though primarily an effective speaker.

2.

Wilson's definition of his subject in the *Rhetorique*, crabbed and obscure as it seems at first glance, plainly shows how vastly different is his conception of rhetoric in 1553 from what it was in 1551:

Rhetoric is an Art to set forth by utterance of words, matter at large or (as Cicero doth say) it is a learned, or rather artificial declaration of the mind, in the handling of any cause, called in contention, that may through reason largely be discussed. An orator must be able to speak fully of all those questions which by law and man's ordinance are enacted, and appointed for the use and profit of man, such as are thought fit for the tongue to set forward. . . . Therefore an orator's profession is to speak only of all such matters as may largely be expounded for man's behoof and may with much grace be set out for all men to hear them.

He adds to this the statement that the orator must be able to speak fully on all public questions—"which by law and man's ordinance are enacted"; he points out that eloquence is not necessary in the teaching or applying of astronomy,

²⁶ See Donald L. Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry in the Renaissance* (New York, 1922), esp. pp. 43-75.

²⁷ *The Rule of Reason, conteinyng the Arte of Logike* (1563), fol. 3^r, 11. 7-13.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, fol. 2^r, 11. 1-8.

arithmetic, and geometry, and concludes that the orator is to speak only of "such matters as may largely be expounded for man's behoof, and may with much grace be set out, for all men to hear them" (1).

This definition is significantly different from the earlier one. The idea that rhetoric is merely the art of ornamentation is completely absent; in fact, ornamentation is subordinated to the section on figures, late in the book. One feels that a conscious effort has been made to lead the reader away from the earlier, narrow conception expressed in the *Logike*—the meaning generally current at the time. This largeness of scope which Wilson laboriously states in his definition is carefully followed in his book. Definition and doctrine are in agreement and the allocation of space given to the finding of subject matter, "framing of the oration," language, and the like, conforms closely to classical rhetorics.

Awkward and obscure as the definition is, we can, with the aid of Wilson's sources, assess its meaning fairly well. It says, in effect, that rhetoric is the art of discourse; that it implies knowledge and premeditation; it is that which enables the orator to deal fully (largely) with any suitable subject.²⁹ This definition is, as its language would indicate, most influenced by Cicero. While that writer does not define rhetoric in these words, his rhetorical works, especially the *De Oratore*, express most of these ideas fully. For example, in the latter, Cicero has Crassus say:

If, therefore, anyone wishes to define and comprehend the entire and distinctive meaning of an orator, he will be an orator worthy of the name, in my opinion, who, whatever subject

occurs which may be dealt with in artistic discourse [*dictione explicanda*], speaks on it learnedly, with attention to order, with beauty of language, retentive memory and with a certain distinctiveness of delivery.³⁰

Some of the elements of this definition apparently troubled Wilson not a little. He does not believe that the mere knowledge of the art of rhetoric will make an eloquent man. Thus, a little later, he says:

Many men know the art very well, and be in all points thoroughly grounded and acquainted with the precepts, and yet it is not their hap to prove eloquent. And the reason is, that eloquence itself, came not up first by the art, but that art rather was gathered upon eloquence. [4-5]

In discussing disposition much later he expresses the same view:

I cannot deny but that a right wise man unlearned, shall do more good by his natural wit, than twenty of these common wits that want nature to help art. And I know that rules were made first by wise men, and not wise men by rules. [159]

It is the words of Crassus in Cicero's *De Oratore* which have fertilized Wilson's mind:

But I consider that with regard to all precepts the case is this, not that orators by adhering to them have obtained distinction in eloquence; but that certain persons have noticed what men of eloquence practised of their own accord, and formed rules accordingly; so that eloquence has not sprung from art but art from eloquence.³¹

This whole question Wilson resolves by saying that learners should imitate wisely the practice—speech or writing—of eloquent men, as well as their precepts and the precepts of others' (5). He reminds the one who has natural ability:

He shall do much better that knoweth what art other men have used, what invention they have followed, what order they have kept, and how they have best done in every part. [160]

²⁹ The words "called in contention" need not be taken literally. The sentence following and the general content of the book indicate that Wilson does not restrict rhetoric or oratory to contentious (i.e. forensic) causes.

³⁰ *De Oratore*, I, 15.

³¹ I, 32 (Watson trans.).

Thus Wilson returns to the concept as stated in the last sentence of his preface when he explained "precepts of eloquence" as "observation of the wise," and learning from the "practice of others," and he defends the construction of such an art because, for the ignorant and unlearned, it is a surer guide than nature, and more easily found, and increases the effectiveness of the naturally gifted (5).

It is noteworthy that Wilson ignores Plato's attack upon the artistic claims of rhetoric in the *Gorgias* and the *Phaedrus*. He also ignores Aristotle's attempt to substitute "faculty" for "art" or "technique" in his *Rhetoric*. The distinctions Quintilian makes between "art" and "science"³² are also absent here. Wilson is content to make rhetoric an art—as he finds it in Cicero, a "liberal art," however limited and neglected, as defined in the *trivium*. He does not doubt that it is an art; he is concerned only to explain why, although it alone will not produce eloquence, it is useful to the persons for whom he is writing.

To most of the classical authorities rhetoric was practically synonymous with persuasion. Aristotle, in his definition, makes the finding of the means of persuasion the whole objective of rhetoric. It was the ultimate end or purpose of the orator to Cicero, to which other purposes such as teaching or delighting were subordinate. Quintilian, while refusing to make rhetoric the art of persuasion, everywhere assumes persuasion to be the grand object of oratory.

On the other hand, the typical medieval or Renaissance rhetoric said little or nothing of persuasion. The marshaling of proofs and the consideration of the hearers had been forgotten. As we have pointed out, rhetoric was confined

largely to the beautifying of style. It is small wonder, then, that Wilson's conception of the significance of persuasion is somewhat vague and confused.

It can be said that he does make persuasion indispensable in all oratory and to every speaker. He early insists that when the orator has accomplished his first two objectives—to delight and to teach—"he must persuade, and move the affections of his hearers in such wise that they shall be forced to yield to his saying" (4, 100). He makes "confirmation" (persuasive proof), one of his seven divisions of a speech, a necessary part of the demonstrative and deliberative, as well as the judicial oration.

On the other hand, Wilson not only does not make persuasion an integral part of his definition of rhetoric or mention it in his early prescriptions concerning the duty or work of the orator, but does not even at the point where he discusses them make it more important than the other two purposes, "to teach" and "to delight": they are all three required in every oration.³³ He does not include the ethical and logical modes of persuasion. In fact, there is no discussion anywhere of the means of persuasion as such. Even the section "of moving the affections" is introduced as a subdivision of amplification (130), and the "delighting of the hearers" is turned into "the division of pleasant behavior" and is not associated with *persuasion* as much as with *teaching* and, especially, *delighting*.

It is true that "to persuade," one of the purposes or types of the deliberative oration, is emphasized by the longest illustration in the *Rhetorique*,

³³ It seems apparent, however, that since "entrance" and "narration," which roughly correspond to "to delight" and "to teach," as "confirmation" to "to persuade," are not always necessary in his "artificial" order, while confirmation is so required, the purpose of persuasion is, to this extent, paramount.

³² *Institutio Oratoria*, II, 14-18.

"Erasmus' Epistle to persuade a young gentleman to marriage"; and that, in his discussion of examples and fables in the section on figures, late in the part on elocution, Wilson thrice mentions persuasion as a purpose of the speaker, once contrasting it with merely delighting the audience, and each time subordinating amplification to it (191, 195, 197). But on the whole he is little concerned with persuasion or the methods of achieving it. He is much more interested in the methods of topical analysis and the varied modes of amplification.

More important is Wilson's careful avoidance of any limitation of rhetoric to writing. This was the common conception in his time, and in his *Logike* there is nothing to indicate that he thought of rhetoric as concerned with speaking. In the *Rhetorique*, however, the speaker is uppermost in his mind. The work of the orator is the subject of his second paragraph. That he means orator in the literal, and now current sense, cannot be doubted, for he says, "now what availeth to speak, when none can tell what the speaker meaneth?" and "before we use either to write, or speak eloquently" (2, 5). But, of course, we have only to consider the frequent references to the problems of preachers and lawyers, and the section on delivery, to see that Wilson intended his rhetoric to be mainly the art of the speaker.

On the other hand, the definition does not confine rhetoric to speaking; as just noted, the writer is included among those whom he expected to use his precepts. His treatment of deliberative and demonstrative oratory, judging from his examples, is designed to aid in written discourse, albeit the type is essentially the oration. And many of his remarks on style and composition are plainly intended to improve written English

especially. Taken as a whole, Wilson seems to regard rhetoric as the art of eloquence, oral or written, for which the form and the spirit are essentially those of public oral address. It is evident that he had caught this idea from the ancients, when rhetoric, the art of the orator, was considered valuable in the training of the poet and the writer of history, as well as to the statesman and soldier. With this notion in mind, Wilson constructed his precepts primarily for the speakers of his day, with the expectation that they would be useful to writers, as well. It is not necessary to suppose, however, that he wished to perpetuate in English the practice of writing orations to be read and not uttered, which, in Latin, were "to moche used" in Elyot's day, and very common in Wilson's.³⁴ There is too much evidence to the contrary.

Wilson's close study of the best of the ancient writers on rhetoric—Cicero's *De Oratore* and Quintilian (and, perhaps, through Cheke, Aristotle's works on poetic and rhetoric)—and his continuous concentration on making his book mainly useful to speakers, are probably responsible for his not confusing rhetoric and poetic in the work, and the early emphasis on the "orator." That his distinguishing between rhetoric and poetic was a considerable achievement when we consider the common practice of the day, has already been observed.³⁵ The author of the epigram which prefaces the 1553 edition notices the distinction: he says that Wilson was by no means satisfied because the Muses had learned to speak logically, "nor did he think it sufficient for them to speak beautifully." Wilson seldom mentions poetic, and levies on it only when it

³⁴ *The Boke Named the Gouvernour* (London, 1531), p. 117.

³⁵ See in this connection Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry*, pp. 76-77.

will serve the purposes of rhetoric. In fact, he objects to any unnecessary use of poetic on the part of the speaker (162, 203). The distinction between orator and poet, rhetoric and poetic, is never lost in his book.

Wilson's exclusion of such problems as the teaching or applying of geometry, arithmetic, and astronomy, is a thoroughly classical conception, found in Aristotle and all the Latin writers. As Wilson treats the limitation it serves to make rhetoric and the orator concerned with subjects of general, public interest, and in effecting changes in laws and customs. The point made by Aristotle that such a limitation excludes, as a method of proof in rhetoric, the absolute and irrefutable demonstrations of science, is lost on Wilson, as, it may be said, it had been upon the Latin writers whom he followed more closely.

Lacking in Wilson's definition and introduction, and, in fact, in his whole book, is another concept common to all classical rhetorics: there is no emphasis on the general culture, thorough knowledge, and goodness of the orator (especially emphasized by Crassus in Cicero's *De Oratore*, and by Quintilian); this negative conception may explain the lack of a defense of rhetoric against Plato's attack in the *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*, which is to be found in each of the best of the ancient rhetorics. The only echo of this defense is: "Weapons may be abused for murder, and yet weapons are only ordained for safeguard" (116),³⁶ which is incidental to his defense of amplification in conclusions and introductions. Instead of defending oratory, Wilson boldly prefaces the *Rhetorique* with the claim that God

is the author of eloquence and that the art of eloquence is a God-given means for improving man's low estate occasioned by the fall of his first parent.

It seems probable that Wilson thought of the question of the desirability of rhetoric in society as one that had been settled long since; and that it was an undesirable and unprofitable topic to introduce in the practical rhetoric he was writing for his inarticulate countrymen. The explanation of the other omissions is less obvious; and will be given at a more appropriate point.

When we consider how recently, in spite of his broad, classical reading, Wilson had regarded rhetoric as mere ornamentation, we are less inclined to wonder at his omission of some ancient doctrine in his attempt to construct the first English rhetoric on classical principles. Rather one is amazed at his understanding and sensible adaptation of these many concepts so long lacking in rhetorical treatises.³⁷

3.

Wilson's pattern of organization, the topics included and omitted, his ideas and his method of developing them, and his emphasis, especially by space, reveal still more of his conception of rhetoric and the leading ideas he wished to teach.

The separation into three "books" is, obviously, of little significance; these

³⁶ The high regard Wilson had for rhetoric may be judged by his praise of eloquence as "the chiefest ornament that can be given to man upon earth." *The Three Orations of Demosthenes*, Preface, *3r.

³⁷ One writer and almost the only one among the many recent commentators on Wilson, who does not share these views, is Elbert W. Harrington (*Rhetoric and the Scientific Method of Inquiry: A Study of Invention*, Univ. of Colo. Stud. in Lang. and Lit., No. 1 [Boulder, 1948], p. 39). Harrington thinks Wilson in 1553 was still much influenced by the prevailing view of rhetoric as style or ornamentation, and gives as his chief evidence the statement by Wilson (p. 23): "By large amplification and beautifying his cause the Rhetorician is always known," and the space devoted to amplification in the second book. To this it seems necessary merely to say that a writer should be judged by all that he writes, and not by isolated statements.

serve only as conventional dividers and minor means of emphasizing much more fundamental divisions.³⁸

The real division is the one which Wilson is at pains to impress upon the reader—the five departments found in almost all classical rhetorics: invention, disposition, elocution, memory, and pronunciation. These are, of course, not all the topics of the *Rhetorique*, for, as Wilson himself summarizes at the beginning of the second book, they are preceded by the introductory topics of definition, causes, and the like; but they are the main divisions, the “five especial points,” as Wilson terms them when he first mentions them (5). These he labors to English as “the finding out of apt matter,” “apt bestowing and orderly placing” and “in what manner every reason shall be applied for confirmation of the purpose,” “an applying of apt words and sentences to the matter,” “a fast holding of matter and of words,” and “a framing of the voice, countenance, and gesture after a comely manner” (5). These he makes the principal headings of his art of eloquence, as even a cursory reading of the work reveals.

Other modes of organization might have been followed, though few of them would have been compatible with his

definition and the broad conception and firm emphasis in his introduction. Thus, to have made, as some ancients did, the chief methods of persuasion—ethical, logical, and emotional—the basis of organization would have been, to him, unthinkable. The organization of the whole under the divisions of a speech—exordium, narration, etc.—he might more possibly have contemplated; at least he lists these divisions in his introduction, and some writers on rhetoric had so organized their treatises; but such an analysis would have been highly illogical and unserviceable, considering the great variety of doctrine unrelated to these topics which he wished to include. Wisely, therefore, he made these the main divisions of Book II, on disposition.

Another framework, a more likely candidate than the others, which might have furnished his major categories, since it too was used by many of his predecessors, is the three kinds of causes or orations, the demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial. These he makes the subdivisions of invention in his first book, and continues to notice, less systematically and with much more attention to the judicial than to the others, in exemplifying his doctrine of disposition in Book II. They are forgotten entirely in Book III.

Wilson's use of the three-fold classification of oratory is a good example of the compromise he made between his classical sources and the rhetorical apparatus current in his time. Among ancient writers they are not main divisions of invention, but separate islands of doctrine concerning types of hearers or kinds of address. With Melanchthon and others of the Renaissance they came to be the leading framework of rhetoric. Wilson found them useful main divisions of invention, subordinated them firmly in disposition, and omitted them

³⁸ The speculations of T. W. Baldwin (*Shakespeare's Small Latine*, II, 42), on this point are interesting but not very clear. He seems to imply some kinship between Wilson's treating invention in the first book, disposition in the second, and elocution, “with *pronunciatio* and *memoria* tacked on,” in the third, with standard procedure in the “old,” i.e. Renaissance rhetoric, especially in Melanchthon, and to be struck by its dissimilarity to the organization, by books, in the *Ad Herennium*. It is to be noted, however, that it was the present writer and not Wilson, who first classified the second book as disposition; Wilson calls it invention, except for the last few pages. Moreover, Professor Baldwin himself earlier says that Wilson was little touched by the modifications of Melanchthon (II, 18). One is inclined to agree with one statement made by Professor Baldwin and to regard it as the real answer to the question: “The division into three books was perhaps the most natural one to make anyway.”

from then on. Moreover, he revived the Ciceronian belief that the precepts found under one kind are common to all,³⁹ when he says that the purposes or ends of each of these three types "may every one be contained in any one of them" (11). He rapidly loses interest in the deliberative and demonstrative, no doubt because, in his day, they had little to do with the kinds of speeches and speakers with which he was most concerned; and he adds another type, the sermon, though he does not explicitly name it as a fourth kind.

For Wilson, then, invention was the first main head. He classified the finding of material according to the three kinds of speeches. He next discusses the parts of a speech, applying the doctrine of disposition to each. His discussion of the last part, the peroration, leads him into amplification, which involves the appeal to the emotions and the methods of delighting the hearers. His organization of elocution into desired qualities of style, and figures, and of memory and delivery, contrary to the first two main topics, is very close to the classical models.

On the whole, Wilson's framework is surprisingly well formed, combining the best of the past with changes occasioned by new conditions and problems. In fact, when we consider the general formlessness of the classical sources he had most recently read—the *De Oratore* of Cicero, for example—and when we scrutinize the capricious and distorted

outlines of most of the rhetorics of his day, the organization Wilson effected speaks eloquently of the acuity and thoroughness of his grasp of the cardinal principles of the best of the classical works.

Of the five main divisions, most space is given to the first, invention; disposition receives almost as much, and elocution a little less than it.⁴⁰ Memory and pronunciation require only a small part of the third book. But emphasis by space, always likely to be misleading, is especially suspect here, since much of that devoted to invention consists of long examples, particularly Erasmus' famous argument in favor of marriage. Nevertheless, invention is plainly emphasized, as it had been in the ancients; style is relegated to third place, and, for the first time, a theory of memorizing and delivering speeches in English, is propounded. Thus Wilson obviously attempted to provide a full, rounded, set of principles for the public speaker—from the finding of subject matter to the effective delivery of the finished speech. How well did he grasp the classical doctrine? How well did he adapt the principles intended to furnish the complete orator of the ancient world to the problems of the sixteenth century Englishman who was "studious of eloquence"? For the answers to these questions we must look more closely at the principles under the five-fold rubric and the minor emphases and omissions.

4.

Wilson's definition of invention: "The finding of apt matter, called other-

³⁹ *De Oratore*, II, 81. Not found in the *Ad Herennium*, late classical, medieval, or Renaissance rhetorics. Wilson's preference for this principle and his failure to follow Melancthon's or the Ramists' examples in general organization, Baldwin (*Shakespeare's Small Latine*, II, 18), appears to regard as a defect. This opinion is hard to understand, not only because the superiority of the classical rhetoric to the late medieval and early Renaissance condensations seems generally conceded, but because of the essential dissimilarities between Melancthon's rhetorical scope and conception, and that of the Ramists.

⁴⁰ C. S. Baldwin in his article on "Rhetoric" in Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education* says that Wilson's *Rhetorique* "devotes most space to figures." This is, of course, wholly erroneous. Baldwin at this point in his article speaks of the general preoccupation with style in Wilson's time and apparently judges Wilson by his period rather than by his book.

wise Invention, is a searching out of things true, or things likely, the which may reasonably set forth a matter, and make it appear probable," hardly suggests his working concept of this department. One would expect a discussion of logical proof and an analysis of various methods of finding material, not only because of the language of the definition, but also because of the emphasis on logical proof and logical analysis in classical works. It would also be natural to find ethical and emotional proof treated under invention. But the whole theory of invention in Wilson consists of providing all of the topics needed or possible in each of the three kinds of oratory. The ways of appealing to the emotions are indeed amply treated, but under disposition, in the second book. Of ethical and logical proofs nothing is said here or elsewhere.

Not only is this not a working outline in Wilson, as in Aristotle, but the first two kinds of persuasion occupy a position very different from that in the *De Oratore* and the *Institutio*. Ethical proof is not mentioned. It is not plain that Wilson refers to it, even indirectly, as a method of persuasion in the ancient sense, which emphasized good character, knowledge, wisdom, and good will toward the audience. Nowhere does he say that the orator should be a good man. Wise and learned men are spoken of, but almost always in the sense of scholars, men learned in ancient languages and philosophies; and usually, by implication, at least, contrasted with those who were unlearned—the ones for whom Wilson wrote.⁴¹ The knowledge Wilson recommends when he tells his student to "go to his book" is rhetoric, the law and the facts, in the case of the judicial orator, for example. Cer-

tainly Wilson has no objection to knowledge or culture, and certainly he favored goodness, especially piety and patriotic fervor; but he does not make either of them indispensable or even part of the armamentarium of persuasion, as had his classical sources.

It must be noted, however, that Aristotle's third component of ethical proof, "good will toward the audience," is very important in Wilson's treatise. From first to last he presses upon the speaker the necessity of "finding favor" with the hearers, of delighting them, impressing them, and in every way heightening their good opinion and desire to hear him, and of avoiding all tactlessness and any possibility of offending or tiring them. But the concept of ethical proof as proof from the character of the speaker is wholly lacking, and the idea that unlearned or evil men cannot hope to be persuasive, is almost never expressed. As for the topic of good will, it is "sparpled" through the *Rhetorique* and not made a special means of persuasion.⁴²

Of logical proof, in the sense of proof by enthymeme and example, there is also no evidence.⁴³ Some of the "places of Logic" are given, under invention, and the student is urged "to have his logic perfect, before he look to profit in rhetoric" (113). In other words, logical proof is to be found in logic and is not a means of persuasion to be dealt

⁴² For a different view of this matter, see Sister Miriam Joseph's *Shakespeare's Use of the Arts of Language* (New York, 1947), pp. 395-396. *Ethos* is, however, not fully analyzed in that work. See also the next to last sentence of the *Rhetorique*, which seems to be Wilson's only comment on the speaking of wicked men.

⁴³ "Example" is a figure of speech for Wilson, and of it he says: "He that mindeth to persuade, needs to be well stored with examples" (190), and "Examples gathered out of histories . . . help much to persuasion" (191). But this is far from making example a species of logical proof; rather it is discussed as a means of "exornation."

⁴¹ See p. 161 for the contrast between the unlearned man who is skilled in elocution and the wise man unskilled in address.

with in rhetorical textbooks. In this respect, as in ethical proof, Wilson follows the medieval tradition.⁴⁴

The topical theory of invention was very important in even the best of classical writings on rhetoric; and it was obviously more than that in lesser works on invention. The theory was that topics or lists of ideas, subdivisions, and statements could be provided to insure that the speaker would be able to develop fully any subject whatsoever and that he would not overlook any points applicable to his case. Possessing these topics he would be able not only to analyze and develop any ideas he had, but he would be able to apply all his knowledge, all the facts, and all his powers of reasoning, elucidation, and persuasion on any problem that might confront him. These topics were of varying types. Some, derived from logic, divided the area they covered with the appearance, at least, of the accuracy, completeness, and finality of an exact science. Some were lists of the most likely "haunts of arguments." Some were mere word lists; and some, called "commonplaces" by Aristotle (and disparaged by him), were completely prepared "purple patches" which could be used for a considerable variety of subjects.

Wilson's topics are also of several kinds. He couples with his definition of invention a strong recommendation of the "places of Logic," especially when the speaker wishes to prove a case and to teach the truth, and he urges the speaker to study these before turning to the places of rhetoric (6, 23). In developing the confirmation of the judicial oration, Wilson is especially firm in his recommendation of the topics of logic, so that the speaker may understand cause and effect, and the methods of

proof (112-113). The places of logic are, therefore, the elemental, bare, but complete and indisputable parts of any subject, such as definition, causes, parts, effects, adjuncts, and contraries. These Wilson quotes from his *Logike* in the discussion of invention in the demonstrative speech (23). We have also somewhat similar topics, in the sense that they are absolute and complete divisions, in the three main topics for praising a man: "before his life, in his life, after his death" (11); and the three kinds of "states" or issues in the judicial speech: "conjectural, legal, juridical . . . whether the thing be, or no, what it is, what manner of thing it is" (89).

But Wilson mainly provides topics like the *sedes argumentorum* of the Latin rhetorics—lists of haunts or abodes of arguments, sometimes fairly exhaustive, always covering the most important subdivisions and the indispensable points, as a matter of course, and often suggesting other possibilities. Such are almost all of the many lists of topics found in Book I, from those "before a man's life" (11) to the places of confirmation for the assumptive plea in the juridical state of the judicial oration (98).

In the first book there is no evidence that Wilson regarded commonplaces as part of his theory of invention; but in the second book we have many examples of them in connection with amplification. He says, in fact, "Therefore in praising or dispraising we must be well stored ever with such good sentences as are often used in this our life, the which through art being increased, help much to persuasion" (116). These "sentences," as he illustrates abundantly, are aphorisms, proverbs, and maxims, some quoted directly from the Bible and elsewhere, some adapted or original. These are, however, not methods of invention or part of the doctrine of invention;

⁴⁴ See Clark, *Rhetoric and Poetry*, p. 56.

they are rather a part of the process of achieving "copie," of developing and expressing fully ideas which have been summoned and selected through the preceding processes of invention and disposition.

Mainly, then, Wilson's doctrine of invention as propounded in the *Rhetorique*, is that one may find out what must be proved, if proof is in question, what is appropriate, and all that it is necessary or possible to say on any subject, by knowing and using the places of logic, by conning the lists of topics provided, understanding them well, storing them in the mind, and consulting and using them as needed. The proper use of topics he illustrates with two long examples and many shorter ones, some of which are constructed especially to illustrate the topics previously given and now listed on the margin.

In presenting this scheme of invention, however, Wilson adds some important qualifications. First, he emphasizes the need of judgment, a factor so important as to have been made a division of rhetoric equal to invention by some rhetoricians, and a very important topic or division in his own and other logics. In his little essay on judgment he says it is not only necessary to know the nature of the subject, but also to consider the audience, occasion, and all the circumstances under which the speech is to be given. With this in mind, the search for and selection of material in the process of invention will be a more economical and generally successful task (8, 18). What he says concerning the places of confirmation in the deliberative oration of counsel, would appear to be of general application: "It is not thought that either they [the places] should all be used in number as they are, or in order as they stand; but that any one may use them and order them as he shall think

best, according as the time, place, and person shall most of all require" (86).

As has been noted, Wilson's treatment of invention and the topical method is organized under the three kinds of orations (demonstrative, deliberative, and judicial), and he continues this sub-organization, much less faithfully, in the treatment of disposition.

In his conception of these three types Wilson was a child of his age; he did not attempt to reproduce the meanings attached to them in the Golden Age of ancient oratory.

The demonstrative type, or speech of praise or blame, gave much trouble to ancient writers. They found it difficult to fit into their conception of rhetoric as the art of persuasion. Further, except for funeral orations and public denunciations of enemies (in practice, the latter are often to be classed as deliberative orations) the demonstrative had not much place in practical oratory. It furnished mainly regrettable examples of the oratory of display. During the Second Sophistic and throughout the decline of the Roman state and decadence of oratory it flourished. As panegyric, it retained its form, especially in written composition, and was even heightened somewhat by feudalism, chivalry, and the revival of the classics. As a literary type, the panegyric or *declamatio* was much used by Erasmus, and was very common in Wilson's time. In fact, Wilson's first literary effort was of this kind.⁴⁵

It is small wonder that Wilson should attempt to do justice to this type. His predecessors, Melanchthon and Cox, had given it more space than deliberative and judicial combined. It is also not strange that he should think of and present it as a species of written dis-

⁴⁵ *Vita et obitus duorum fratrum* (1551).

course. Nothing in his experience invested it with oral use.

Wilson deals with the subject fully, illustrates it conscientiously, but does not give it much more space than either of the other kinds. He refers to it only slightly in the next book, and never thereafter.

Deliberative oratory, so important to Aristotle and Cicero, is of much less vitality in Quintilian, and becomes practically extinct thereafter. Its decay parallels the rise of authoritarian government. By the end of the Middle Ages some of the themes and ideas of political oratory were revived and exhibited in the very popular arts of letter writing. The concept of advising and trying to convince popular assemblies of the expediency of policies and actions thus passed into the rhetoric of persuading individuals, chiefly through letters, as in such textbooks as Wilson studied at Eton, and also in the more important works of Erasmus, the *De Copia Verborum* and *De Ratione Conscribendi Epistolas* which Wilson knew and used.

Wilson treats deliberative oratory in the first book as a kind of oratory which may have five purposes—persuading, exhorting, moving to pity, commending, and comforting. As in the demonstrative, his illustrations and examples are wholly of written discourse. He refers to it in the next book but slightly, and never thereafter. It is noteworthy that, though he speaks of the Roman Senate, he never mentions even indirectly the Parliament of England, or any other contemporary deliberative assembly.

Very different is the case of judicial oratory. Wilson's definition and treatment of this subject are classical in the best sense. It is oral controversy, or, as he says, debate, between complainant and defendant, or prosecutor and defense, before a judge or jury (86). Plainly, it is the work of the lawyer he has

in mind. He selects from the lore of *status* or legal analysis found in his chief sources, and wisely adapts to the needs of his time. Moreover, there are almost countless references to the judicial orator in all three books; as has been pointed out, he openly says at the beginning of Book II that the parts of the speech will be discussed chiefly with respect to the judicial oration; even in expounding deliberative and demonstrative oratory in Book I, he takes occasion to praise justice and law and to persuade young men to prepare for the legal profession.

There are two or three reasons why Wilson was so partial to this type. Judicial rhetoric had flourished from classical times to his own, and had retained its original nature and vitality far better than the other two modes, because judicial oratory had persisted. The precepts of judicial rhetoric had been of practical use in the work of the legal profession from the days of Pliny the Younger until his own.⁴⁶ Besides this, Wilson was himself especially interested in the subject. He was, presumably, studying civil law at Cambridge at the time he wrote the *Rhetorique*; the fact that he secured the degree of Doctor of Civil Law at Padua, and, on his return from Italy in 1560, entered the advocate's profession as a civilian, argue much for his early interest in the work of the judicial orator. Finally, it seems probable that he preferred to stress the one kind of oratory which was oral rather than written.

One other kind of oral discourse is to be noticed. When Wilson defined deliberative oratory in terms of its purposes, he included "to exhort"; and, somewhat diffidently, in the first book, he made slight references to preaching

⁴⁶ See H. J. Stephen, *A Treatise on the Principles of Pleading* (London, 1824), Appendix, nn. 2 and 29.

"in open assembly." In the second book and the third, there are many more discussions of the problems of the preacher. In fact, Wilson refers to preaching and preachers, in the whole work, even more than he does to the lawyers and judicial oratory. But, except for a few dubious instances, mostly those mentioned just above, these references do not at all suggest that preaching was, in his scheme, a form of deliberative oratory.

Thus it seems safe to say that deliberative and demonstrative oratory are not important concepts with Wilson; that they are insignificant in comparison with judicial oratory; that preaching is, in his mind, even more important than judicial oratory; and that these two constitute his real kinds of speaking.

5.

The meaning and importance of disposition emerge quite clearly from Wilson's definitions:

But what availeth much treasure and apt matter, if man cannot apply it to his purpose. Therefore, in the second place is mentioned the settling or ordering of things invented for this purpose, called in Latine *Dispositio*, the which is nothing else but an apt bestowing, and orderly placing of things, declaring where every argument shall be set, and in what manner every reason shall be applied for confirmation of the purpose. [6]

And again: "Disposition as Tullie doth define it is a certain bestowing of things and an apt declaring what is meet for every part, as time and place do best require" (157). Disposition, then, is, first of all, the arranging of arguments discovered by invention; this amounts largely to organizing and determining the order of arguments. But it would also seem to include a study of the situation and of the audience, and an examination and reconstruction of the speech with a view to adapting the arguments to the purpose of the speaker and the particular time and place.

After definitions as lucid and comprehensive as these, it is disappointing to find disposition relegated to a few pages at the end of the second book. It would seem that the subject meant no more to Wilson than the ordering of a speech in a literal sense. There are two kinds of order, he says, the natural and the artificial. In the first, one follows the usual sequence of exordium, narration, proposition, confirmation, confutation, and conclusion. In the second, one omits any of these or changes them about according to the nature of the case or the discretion of the orator. And this is the whole of disposition.

But disposition meant much more to ancient rhetoricians and orators. It meant just what is in Wilson's definitions. It meant, first, order or arrangement; but it also meant the adapting of invented materials to audience, purpose, and occasion—the construction of the speech according to the psychological principles of attention and persuasion. In the *Partitiones Oratoriae* of Cicero, Cicero *filius* asks what comes next after invention. The reply of Cicero may be considered a survey of the scope of disposition in Roman oratorical theory and practice:

When you have discovered your arguments, to arrange them properly, and in an extensive inquiry the order of the topics is very nearly that which I have set forth; but in a definite one we must use those topics which relate to exciting the required feelings in the minds of the hearers. . . . I have general precepts for producing belief and exciting feelings. *Since belief is a firm opinion but feelings are an excitement of the mind, either to pleasure or to vexation, or to fear, or to desire . . . I adapt all my arrangement to the object of the inquiry.*⁴⁷

The whole method of treatment of disposition in Cicero's *De Oratore* bears out this conception. In that work he discusses disposition by explaining in full the functions of each of the parts

⁴⁷ 3. (Yonge trans. Italics mine.)

of a speech—exordium, narration, and the like. In each, he shows how to adapt the topics invented to typical situations, how to augment and amplify the topics or places, how to avoid prejudices, and how to appeal to the emotions.

It is perfectly true that the classical rhetoricians exhibit considerable confusion and inconsistency in dealing with disposition. Cicero, as we have noted, makes it the repository of much of his advice on emotional persuasion. We have noted, too, that Cicero develops disposition by a systematic treatment of the parts of a speech. In Quintilian the parts of a speech are treated under invention, while *status* and all the lore of forensic analysis (which we should expect under invention) are placed under disposition; moreover, under the head of disposition in the seventh book is a large section bearing on ethical and emotional persuasion and their relation to particular situations. In the *Ad Herennium*, the parts of the speech—the exordium, narration, and the like—and the adaptation of topics to the audience, are also treated under invention; disposition is given very little space and is thought of as arrangement only, the natural and artificial order. Thus some of the Latin writers thought of disposition as arrangement in a limited sense; others, observing the futility of a hard and fast system of arrangement, tried to give to it the work of adapting and organizing for varying purposes and situations. The necessity of a scientific analysis of the emotions of the audience forced them to develop these subjects largely by the method of topical invention, but they made the practical applications in the sections on disposition.⁴⁸

⁴⁸ The close relationship of invention and disposition in classical rhetoric is obvious. In Cicero's *Partitiones Oratoriae*, the dependence of disposition on invention is pointed out and an attempt made to identify, in part, the work of the former with that of the latter.

This lack of unanimity of opinion among the ancient writers and, indeed, among parts of the same treatises, may have caused Wilson to fall back on the method of the *Ad Herennium*. At any rate, he confines disposition to that small section of his second book which has to do with arrangement in the limited meaning.

But the whole of the second book deals with disposition in the best classical sense, and in a manner perfectly compatible with his own definitions of the term. He begins the second book by saying, in effect, that since he has shown the nature, number, and places of confirmation of causes, he will now show how the materials or topics found may be adapted to given situations; and he says that his method will be to take up the parts of a speech and deal with the problems of organization and adaptation arising in each. Unwittingly, he here distinguishes between invention and disposition in the broad sense. Having explained the invention of places, he is now about to show how to plan speeches with an eye to the practical problems set by varying purposes and audiences. As he says, he is concerned that the invented materials should not be used in a stereotyped manner "as a ship man's hose to serve for every leg" (100). He aims the whole second book at meeting the problem of how to vary and adapt the topics that can be "invented."⁴⁹ This he does, add-

⁴⁹ I have treated this subject in detail in "The Meaning of *Dispositio*," in *Studies in Speech and Drama in Honor of A. M. Drummond* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1944), pp. 285-294.

Karl R. Wallace ("Early English Rhetoricians on the Structure of Rhetorical Prose," *Papers in Rhetoric*, ed. Donald C. Bryant [St. Louis, 1940], p. 19), says that Wilson favored the natural, fixed order, treated it as if it could not be greatly changed, and would not allow any of the parts to be omitted. He maintains that Wilson's treatment of disposition is rigidly classical, which he apparently takes to mean that though the ancients recognized both the natural and artificial types of organization, they

ing thereto a treatment of amplification.⁵⁰ For placing amplification under what he considered invention, Wilson had the example of the *Ad Herennium* and the *De Inventione*.

It is difficult not to over-emphasize Wilson's stress on amplification. It was included in his definition of rhetoric as narrowly conceived and stated in the *Logike*, in the phrase "and that at large." It is rather strange, at first thought, that he should include a discussion of how to move the audience to anger, pity, and delight under amplification. But since he did not think of amplification as a means of proof—did not, in fact, cope with the means of persuasion or even give much attention at all to persuasion as a purpose, and since he found ample warrant for associating it with amplification in his

developed the former much more fully and systematically, favored it pedagogically, and emphasized that if it were employed in discourse, it must be strictly followed in respect of inclusion and set order of parts—with some exceptions.

It is sufficient here merely to deny that the best of the ancient discussions of disposition emphasized or favored the natural order—though they did treat it more systematically—or that they insisted on fixed and unchanging parts or patterns. Next, that for the most part, in the long discussion of the parts of the speech in Book II, Wilson is showing possibilities, providing optional, alternative methods of "framing" an oration in "divers" ways, and is combining in one unified discussion the theory of the two types, natural and artificial order (e.g. pp. 99, 100), and has added a short special section on the artificial order, under the heading of *disposition*, thus almost over-emphasizing it.

It is true, as Wallace points out, that once or twice Wilson loses sight of the artificial type, as when he dogmatically insists on partition being included in every type of oration. But we must consider the *whole* treatment in Book II, and this fully emphasizes the importance of varying and changing order and method according to the special conditions involved in the speech situation. And we must especially give weight to what Wilson says at the end of the book in defense of that order which is "wholly fashioned by the discretion of him that makes the oration" and which is advised in all cases where the natural order is unsuitable.

⁵⁰ From Erasmus, *De Ratione Concionandi*, in *Opera Omnia* (1703-6).

classical sources,⁵¹ its location here is not greatly to be questioned. The close relation of the passions with disposition in the broader sense, in Quintilian and Cicero, could not have escaped Wilson.

The second book, then, deals with disposition in the broader and best classical meaning, and includes exactly what we find associated with artistic disposition in the ancient rhetorics. It is true that Wilson loses sight of his avowed purpose in this book, that of adapting the speech to the needs of the audience and of the occasion: in his development of confirmation, particularly, he is back at his old habit of finding the places. But for even this lapse he had ample warrant in the methods of classical writers, who usually analyzed such subjects in this manner. He returns, moreover, in the section on moving the affections, to the legitimate province and method of disposition. On the whole, though he himself failed to bestow upon it the proper name, his second book is a thorough treatment of disposition, mostly in the best classical tradition.

6.

Rhetoric, we have noted, meant only ornament and amplification to Wilson in 1551 when he wrote the *Logike*. By 1553 not rhetoric alone but "elocution" itself meant more—and less—than exornation and "copie." It is true that four-fifths of the section on elocution is devoted to embellishment⁵²; but it is also true that Wilson precedes this with a division of elocution into four parts—plainness, aptness, composition, and exornation; and we cannot forget that

⁵¹ As a matter of fact, in classical rhetoric amplification meant, in part, the arousing of the feelings. See Cicero's *Partitiones Oratoriae*, 8, 15, 17.

⁵² But, taking the *Rhetorique* as a whole, deliberative oratory takes up more space, as does amplification.

in the discussion of the first three he utters his most celebrated views and makes his most lasting contributions.

The conception of elocution as the proper use of words and sentences, involving the qualities of plainness, aptness, adornment or beautifying, and composition, is, at first glance, very little different from that of the classical writers, who divide *elocutio* into *electio*, the choice of words, and *compositio*, the proper joining of words, setting up under the former head the qualities of correctness, plainness, aptness, and ornamentation, and including under the latter harmony, modulation, and rhythm. Besides these two main divisions, they discuss the three kinds of oratorical style—*genus grande*, *genus humile*, and *genus medium*. Aristotle and Quintilian deal with amplification under *elocutio*. The writer of the *Ad Herennium* fails to include rhythm. Otherwise they are in agreement with one another. Wilson follows this general outline closely, except that he gives most space to figures; he emphasizes strikingly the topic of clearness ("plainness"), and he treats composition, in part, in an original way. Rhythm, too, occupies a role very different from what it had in Cicero and Quintilian.

Wilson's famous warning against inkhorn terms and the improper and unnecessary importation of Latin, Greek, French, and Italian words into English speech (part of the section on plainness) is, of course, not original with Wilson. In the first place, his chief rhetorical sources all begin the discussion of choice of words by urging the use of pure language, proper to the time and place, and inveigh against the use of obscure, archaic, unfamiliar, or pretentious terms. Besides them, Wilson early cites Aulus Gellius' tale of Favorinus' scolding of a young man for using strange and archaic words because they were

unfamiliar to the hearers. Moreover, Elyot, Ascham, Cheke, and others in his time had expressed the same views. In inveighing against Italianate English and inkhorn terms Wilson is only expressing, more tellingly, what had been said by many others. What is chiefly to be noted is that he does not indict all words of Greek or Latin origin in English. Wilson carefully exempts words that have won a place in the language, mentioning "Letters Patent" and "communion" as examples. His gauge is proper use and ease of understanding—plainness and exactness of meaning, the effectiveness of communication to the hearer.

Aptness is very briefly and vaguely treated in the section devoted to it, but is well illustrated elsewhere. It is essentially the classical idea, somewhat scanted here.

Composition, however, is another matter, as Wilson treats it. After defining it in the classical manner, as the proper joining of words, and, like his ancient sources, proceeding to deal with sentence structure, he erects a wholly different and underivative structure and philosophy of style, involving such concepts as unity and coherence of sentence structure and discourse.

Exornation, or embellishment, had been much in Wilson's mind during his writing of earlier sections of the *Rhetorique*, although he had firmly avoided discussing it prematurely. In the discussion of plainness and propriety he was at pains to point out that insistence on pure English did not preclude proper beautifying of the language. He seems, in fact, to have been proceeding on Quintilian's theory: "Without propriety ornament is impossible."⁵³ Having laid a sound founda-

⁵³ *Institutio Oratoria*, VIII, 3, 15.

tion of plainness and propriety, Wilson rears the structure of ornament.

Exornation consists, Wilson implies, of two things. One is the familiar threefold classification of oratorical style. The other is the study of figures. It seems a doubtful classification. Why did not Wilson follow his apparent model, the *Ad Herennium*, and deal with the styles of speaking separately from qualities of elocution? It is difficult to answer this question. If one is to judge from the very brief space given to the "kinds" of style, from the very slight amplification and illustration used here, and from the admixture of his doctrine of plainness and propriety even in this section, Wilson apparently did not understand very fully the doctrine of *genus grande*, *medium*, and *tenuis*, or, if he did, he considered it of slight value. It is certain that it was not a part of his own working theory, as it is in Cicero. Cicero refers to the doctrine many times and attempts many classifications on this basis; but there is not a single reference to it elsewhere in Wilson.

The second kind of ornamentation of language is the use of figures. Here at last, Wilson has reached that part of rhetoric "which above all other is most beautiful," and "only proper to an orator" (160). This subject is introduced as follows: "There is another kind of exornation, that is not egally sparpled throughout the whole Oration, but is so dissevered and parted as stars stand in the firmament, or flowers in the garden or pretty devised antiques in a cloth of Arras" (170).

According to this statement, and according to the general treatment, figures meant simply a means of embellishment. The threefold division of figures, however, requires us to qualify this conception to a slight extent. Wilson distinguishes tropes, figures of speech (schemes), and figures of thought,

or in his words, figures of exornation. A trope, in his meaning, is the changing of the nature of a word from one signification to another, as in a metaphor we may say figuratively, "I am glad I smelled you out," to one whom we have caught deceiving us. A scheme, he says, is the changing of words, not in their nature but in outward, verbal form only, as "A fair mai for maid," or constructing sentences in unusual patterns, as "When just dealing is absent, wealth goes, friendship goes, truth goes, in a word, all goodness goes." A figure of exornation, or a "colour of Rhetorike," is the heightening of effect by beautifying the thought—and consequently the language—as in impersonation, apostrophe, or the like. Thus it is really only the last of the three kinds of figures which is concerned wholly with embellishment and "gay colors."

Wilson's organization is unusual, and confusing. The basic distinction between tropes and the two kinds of figures is not convincing. The trope is, to Wilson, essentially metaphor. But how any of the tropes differ essentially from such figures of exornation as hyperbole, personification, or the like, cannot be determined. This must have been apparent to Wilson, for, giving Quintilian as his authority, he finally decides to transfer the last four tropes to the "colours" or figures of exornation (176).

"Schemes," too, seems unserviceable as a division, for he first discusses schemes of words very briefly and, one must say, with little profit, and then, suddenly, with no reason assigned, announces that he "will set them forth at large among the colours and ornaments of elocution" that follow (177). This he does, after treating almost all the figures of ornament. He introduces them with this cryptic statement: "When any sentence upon the placing or setting of words, is said to be a figure: the said

[figure] is always called a scheme, the which words being altered or displaced, the figure straight doth lose his name; and is called no more a scheme" (200).

The fact is that the organization is not functional. What Wilson understood, was most interested in, and best explained, were the "colours" or figures of ornamentation, to which he had frequently referred, and which formerly had meant almost the whole of rhetoric, to say nothing of elocution. He used the organization he found in Quintilian, without retaining the latter's distinction between tropes and figures. Looking at Cicero's organization, he would also find it very difficult to distinguish schemes and figures of speech from figures of thought, for Cicero lists imagery and others like it under the former.

It seems more important to notice that, aside from figures of words, Wilson selects and adapts the classical figures well. He is careful not to include any of the obscure figures of Cicero, except possibly *progressio*, and seems to have studied carefully Quintilian's comments on Cicero's list. He tries hard, but not very successfully, to translate the Latin and Greek names of the figures into usable English terms. But he explains most of them clearly and illustrates them usefully and, in some cases, memorably.

Rhythm, an important topic of elocution associated with composition in Cicero and Quintilian, is not mentioned by name in Wilson. Perhaps he was influenced in this respect by the *Ad Herennium* which omits the subject entirely. But Wilson has somewhat to say on it, nevertheless. In his first paragraph on elocution he seems to have it in mind when he says that an eloquent man "can use such composition, that he may appear to keep an uniformity, and (as I might say) a number in the uttering of his sentence" (161). When he ex-

plains composition, he speaks of joining words "together in apt order, that the ear may delight in hearing the harmony" (166). He dislikes hiatus (167). In discussing the figures "like ending, like falling," "equal members," and "conversion," he approves a moderate "number" though he consistently warns against its overuse, opposing "rhymed meter" especially, as being better suited to music and poetry than to vigorous, sincere, rhetorical discourse (202). Rhythm, one notes, figures but slightly in Wilson compared to the emphasis given it in Latin rhetoric. One is tempted to infer that he either distrusted his ability to adapt its techniques, so detailed and important in Latin, to the English tongue, or believed that only a slight and simplified use of it was suited to our language.

7.

Wilson's treatment of memory, brief as it is, and almost wholly derived from classical sources, is interesting and clear, and exhibits real interest and understanding; but it is not so closely related to the work of the speaker as we might expect.

Wilson, like Cicero and others, thinks of memory as the storehouse or treasury of invented matter. He does not make clear just what is to be stored there, however; he does not raise the question as to whether speeches are to be written and memorized, though we might infer from the nature of his advice that he does not have memoriter speaking in mind. Rather, he seems to deal with memory as an important faculty of general use to the speaker even when the memorizing of speeches would be futile, for he says: "Yet wanting a remembrance to apply things aptly, when time and place shall best require, he shall do but small good with all his under-

standing" (209). For the most part, he is content to explain the nature of memory, and the methods of improving it, without application to oratory.

Wilson's location of the faculty of memory in the back of the head is usual and familiar, though his story of the Lincolnshire man who suffered a loss of memory because of a blow in that part of his head shows a desire to buttress it with fresh proof. The additional reason, having to do with the moistness of that part of the head, is found only in Juan Luis Vives, though this is but a special application of the traditional belief in the "humours."

Wilson's real interest is in memory training. He quickly disposes of natural memory, merely offering the usual advice on how to maintain it, and goes on to explain artificial memory. Here he shows a keen understanding of the classical methods of places and images. The art of memory, he says, is to select, in the mind's eye, places or rooms and then to select symbolic items to be located in the rooms, the symbols or "images" being the points to be remembered. The symbols are to be appropriate, of course; e.g. a famous thief, standing in the doorway, would represent theft, the first charge to be made in a forensic speech, and so on.

The important principles of this method, aside from the appropriateness of the symbols and the adequacy of the places, are these: each fifth symbol is distinguished above the others, by a hand, for example; orderliness, always turning to the right when entering the room, and proceeding from image to image in the same direction; repetition; and, of course, association. The principles, and most of the examples, are taken from or modeled on the treatment of memory in Latin sources, especially the *Ad Herennium*. But Wilson's adaptation shows real understanding.

One should not forget that Wilson himself is traditionally credited with having been an excellent proof of the value of his system. Anthony Wood says of him: "While he enjoyed the office of Secretary he became famous for three things: (1) for quick dispatch and industry, (2) for constant diligence, and (3) for a large and strong memory."⁵⁴ A Cambridge historian says: "His name must be added to the long list of the memorable men of that age who sedulously and successfully practised the mnemonical art on which he enlarges in his treatise on rhetoric, he being indeed one of the first who wrote in the vernacular on that subject."⁵⁵

8.

To Wilson "pronunciation" means uttering a speech—the effective use of voice and gesture—and what we today call delivery. The voice, he says, should be "audible, strong, and easy, and apt to order as we list" (218); that is, the voice should be under control and should possess volume, strength, and flexibility. He who has a fairly good voice should begin his speech "softly," pause frequently, and, when he has gradually warmed his throat by speaking, raise his pitch and increase his volume. He who does not have a naturally good voice, should exercise the body, should fast, and should practice "gaping wide and singing plain song." This is Wilson's whole scheme of voice training; the suggestions are simply listed, with no amplification or illustration. He adds to them a lament over the lack of musical education in his time, and a list of specific faults in utterance which he has noticed in contemporary speakers.

In the brief paragraph on gesture, comeliness and adaptability are mentioned as the chief requisites in that

⁵⁴ *Fasti Oxonienses*, p. 98.

⁵⁵ Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, I, 437.

subject. He explains, in one sentence, the proper bodily and facial expressions, illustrates adaptability from Cicero's account of Hortensius, and closes by quoting from Cicero some reasons why gesture should be both comely and suitable to the person gesturing.

In the four short pages Wilson allots to delivery he does not stray far from classical rhetoric and manages to include most of its important topics. His qualities of voice, following closely the *Ad Herennium*, are volume, strength, and flexibility; he omits pitch, rhythm, tone, and enunciation, which some of the ancients had included.

But we miss most in Wilson a full conception and explanation of the fundamental principle suggested in the *Ad Herennium*, that "delivery comes from the mind." Cicero's statement that the excellent orator plays on his voice as the musician plays on his instrument because his voice is subservient to his ideas and his feelings, is not echoed in Wilson. There is also no attempt to classify and explain how to produce tones suitable to the expression of varied emotions, or what voice to use in various kinds of speaking or parts of the speech, as Cicero and Quintilian and others together teach. Most of all we miss the science and art of vocal training as practiced and expounded by the ancients. What has been said of voice could be said equally well of gesture; there is even less, in proportion, on this subject in Wilson.

It cannot be supposed that Wilson did not prize delivery highly. Early in the book, when defining his five main divisions, he maintains that if the speaker lacks pronunciation "all the other do little profit," so that without good delivery his speaking "is to no purpose" (6). Between this definition and the final section on pronunciation, he often speaks eloquently of the impor-

tance of good delivery. Thus, in connection with moving to laughter, he says: "And whatsoever he is, that can aptly tell his tale, and with countenance, voice, and gesture so temper his report, that the hearers may still take delight, him count I man worthy to be highly esteemed" (145). In the section on moving to pity he points out the importance of proper management of facial expression and gesture as a means of provoking tears. Elsewhere he refers indirectly to other advantages of effective use of voice or action. In beginning his discussion of delivery he reminds his readers of the stress laid on this department by Demosthenes and reiterates that it is indispensable (218).

Moreover, when we consider the emphasis Wilson places on faults of voice and gesture, we should conclude that he was greatly impressed with the lack of good delivery in his time. His complaint that children are no longer taught by musicians to speak plainly, and the grossness of the faults listed in the long catalogue of defects indicate a low state of delivery generally. He points out elsewhere, as a matter of common knowledge, that of those who can use gesture and voice effectively "assuredly there are but few" (145).

We have no reason to suppose that Wilson had any practical training or much experience in delivery. For him to have outlined a method of voice culture or practice in delivery with which he had had no direct contact would, in fact, have been contrary to his practice in writing the *Rhetorique*. No treatises on rhetoric written since the Roman period would have given him any assistance in making such an adaptation; most of them, in fact, omitted the subject altogether.

Thus, though he sees clearly the need for a full treatment of delivery, Wilson

is content to give in a few words the principles of the ancients, to list the faults to be avoided, and to make an end. If he gives his readers no great assistance, he, at least, avoids leading them into great errors.

9.

Wilson's book, as a whole, treats rhetoric as a practical art consisting not of absolute rules but of precepts for general use and for application and adaptation. It assumes that these precepts will be of use in both speaking and writing; but from first to last, and with increasing emphasis, it makes speaking, or rather oratory, the essential form or end-product. It conceives the work of the orator to be a composite process of enlightening, delighting, and persuading the hearers. Persuasion is viewed as appeal to emotions and is not the whole purpose of speaking nor, in spite of early insistence on it, an indispensable one in all cases. The precepts consist of topical methods for analyzing and finding all possible ideas and examples for any subject classified under three main types of oratory, of methods for organizing and developing subject matter with due attention to right order and to impressiveness and moving to action, and to effective use of language, memory, and delivery.

Wilson's leading ideas are to be found, first, by observing what of ancient rhetoric he retained, what he omitted, what he emphasized, and how he condensed, expanded, or applied ancient doctrine to English speech and the needs of his times; this has been attempted in the section just preceding. We must also, of course, look for his original contributions; this I have done in another place.⁵⁶ Stated in briefest compass, by the first prescription these would in-

clude his emphasis on amplification rather than persuasion, his reduction of deliberative and demonstrative oratory to written personal "orations" (except for some tendency to enlarge deliberative oratory by referring to preaching), his emphasis on persuasion as a type of deliberative oratory, his purposive conceptions of each of the three kinds of oratory, the insistence on the seven parts in each kind, the emphasis on avoiding unfamiliar and foreign words as a factor of clearness in using language, on composition of sentences singly and in groups, his emphasis on the associative ideas of memory training and his ignoring of the issue of memoriter vs. extempore preparation, though everywhere implying the latter, and his scanting of delivery.

This is, of course, unjust and inadequate. We gain a fuller and more accurate picture of his doctrine if we note his mode of treatment and the readers or students he plainly has in mind. His method of exposition is to state a precept, apparently dogmatically and unqualifiedly, as "there are three purposes in every speech," or "there are seven parts of every oration," or "there are five topics that must be used," to follow this with further classifications or definitions, and to illustrate amply. Here and there, however, appear cautions of varying length that the places or parts or the like are to be used as "time and place shall best require." The method, then, is to state in full, to illustrate all possible points included in the precepts, but to warn the student that he is to adapt and elect in actual practice. In some cases, of course, Wilson amplifies the varied situations which may require drastic variations, as in the last part of the second book.

The readers are assumed to be students of eloquence who have real occasions to speak and write, who lack

⁵⁶ "Thomas Wilson's Contributions to Rhetoric," *Papers in Rhetoric*, pp. 1-7.

facility in some or all respects mentioned, and especially in amplification. The kinds of writing, except for orations of praise and letters or orations of persuasion, comfort, and the like, are not stated. As to speakers, three kinds are included. Wilson mentions the lawyer often, and plainly and fully deals with his speaking problems; he applies the whole of the second book especially to him, and illustrates elsewhere by judicial subjects and references taken from legal practice. Less openly and definitely but more frequently, we read of the preacher and of sermons. We cannot miss the stress on the speaking problems of the clergy and the religious elements that pervade most of the *Rhetorique*.

If the illustrations of pulpit oratory and the references to the preacher are not as overt and as lengthy, they are more frequent and seem to be more continuously in Wilson's mind. Finally, much less plain and direct, there are evidences of another type of speaking, which may be called informal. Many precepts are illustrated by conversation, conference, or the like. These nondescript speakers occur too often to be purely inadvertent. It seems plain that, while Wilson directed his rhetorical principles primarily to lawyers and preachers in "open assembly," he intended the work to be useful to all other persons who had need of effectiveness in speech even when talking only to one or two others.

COLERIDGE IN LILLIPUT: THE QUALITY OF PARLIAMENTARY REPORTING IN 1800

DAVID V. ERDMAN

Coleridge reported three speeches in 1800 for the London *Morning Post*. His notes and printed reports are collated with all other independent reports, and some simple rules of textual analysis are formulated for evaluating the authenticity of parliamentary reports. A distinction between the scarce but more authentic shorthand or authorial texts and the usual newspaper texts is demonstrated. Yet it is found that a small but significant sprinkling of the salient expressions of the original speakers can be recovered even from newspaper reports. The historical scholar, armed with the method here presented, need not turn with indiscriminate suspicion from all the unsifted ore in the collections of Debrett, Cobbett, or Hansard. As for Coleridge, his three reports represent three degrees of originality. In general he was, as a reporter, simultaneously more faithful and more creative than his professional colleagues.

1.

SAMUEL Taylor Coleridge in February 1800 was a parliamentary reporter for the London *Morning Post*—to the extent of one half and one whole speech by Pitt and one brief speech by Sheridan. Because his manuscript notes for these reports, although neglected, still survive and because several independent reports of each speech are extant, it is possible by the process of textual collation and analysis to arrive at some conclusions of particular interest for the student of Coleridge and of general guidance for the documentary historian. British parliamentary reports, as preserved in the volumes of Debrett's *Parliamentary Register* and Cobbett's *Parliamentary History*, although an important "primary source" for the political and social historian, have never

been examined with critical thoroughness, and if we can by analyzing three samples in depth discover and validate some simple rules for their evaluation, a variety of applications will readily occur to the historian or, for that matter, to the historical novelist or dramatist who is conscientious about accurate quotation.

When Coleridge served his three days as reporter—or three nights, 3-4, 10-11, and 17-18 February—he was at the mid point in his career as writer of political editorials for the *Morning Post*, from January 1798 to August 1803, but he resisted further assignment to this kind of "unpleasant activity." It consisted, as he complained on the first "morning after," of attending the House of Commons from 8 one morning to 3 the next and then sitting in the newspaper office "writing, & correcting other men's writing till 8" again.¹ In later years he told a story of having fallen asleep listening to Pitt and then, to appease the newspaper proprietor, having "volunteered a speech for Mr. Pitt, which he wrote off-hand, and which answered the purpose exceedingly well" and elicited much comment and wonder as to "the real author of the speech."² The anecdote mingled details of his reporting of the first Pitt speech (which everyone had forgotten) with his recollection of the second (which had been more memorable). Hence the proprietor, Daniel Stuart, was easily able to refute

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¹ *Collected Letters of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Earl Leslie Griggs (Oxford, 1956), I, 568. Hereafter cited as *CL*.

² James Gillman, *Life of Coleridge* (1838), I, 207-208.

the story, circumstantially.³ Nevertheless there is clear evidence, in the contemporary letters of Coleridge and Thomas Poole, that Coleridge and others at the time had thought him guilty of exceeding his reportorial duty in gilding the artificial lilies of William Pitt. It was natural that Coleridge should have regarded himself as an unskilled amateur, dozing at times and boldly coining sentences never uttered by the speaker; but as a matter of fact he was making the kind of notes and writing the kind of reports that rank his work with that of the best professional practicers of the art. Coleridge was more familiar with shades of political meaning than most reporters, and a better writer. What apparently impressed him was the ineluctable gulf of falsehood between a spoken harangue of 40,000 words and a newspaper report of 5,500.

We shall not be the first to have compared Coleridge's report of the second Pitt speech (17 February) with his notes and with (a few) other newspaper reports; his daughter Sara, collecting his report, printed in an appendix the report of *The Times* and consulted another text on one reading ("the child and champion of Jacobinism")—a collation so spotty that the only conclusion she jumped to was a wrong one (i. e. that her father had coined that phrase).⁴ Still another Coleridge editor (in both senses), E. H. Coleridge in his edition of the *Letters*, observed in a footnote that "the speech, as reported [in the *Post*], follows pretty closely the outlines in the notebook."⁵ In 1913 Michael Macdonagh, in a short chapter on Coleridge's passages "were most finely

er,"⁶ compared two passages in the *Post*, *The Times*, and the *True Briton*, one of them the "child and champion" passage—only to repeat Sara's mistaken conclusion. None of these collators pursued the collation far enough or methodically enough to arrive at valid results or even to discover the nature of the materials they were comparing. Macdonagh was mainly impressed that Coleridge's passages "were most finely rendered"; Sara Coleridge that the arguments of Pitt (how could she be sure of those?) had been "translated into book-language and the dialect of" her father in particular. The general question of the relative accuracy of any report was scarcely recognized, and subjective criteria were largely relied upon.

The disputed anecdote, however, points to a very real question. How far was Coleridge—or any other reporter in 1800—the "real author" of the speeches he supplied to his printer? No one seems to be very clear about the reliability or unreliability of early parliamentary reporting, and this fog engenders perhaps more indiscriminate suspicion than the facts may warrant. Coleridge's boast of having "volunteered a speech" may have been meant to recall Samuel Johnson's assertion about the reported words of an earlier Mr. Pitt: "That speech I wrote in a garret in Exeter Street."⁷ Yet the suggestion that Coleridge's reports of 1800 belong in a class with Johnson's *Debates in the Senate of Lilliput* of the 1740's would be highly misleading. Johnson's reports for Cave's *Gentleman's Magazine*, published months and even years after the debates, were compiled illicitly and often built

³ Daniel Stuart, "Anecdotes of the Poet Coleridge," *Gentleman's Magazine* (May 1838), 486-487.

⁴ Coleridge, *Essays on His Own Times*, ed. by His Daughter (1850), III, 1010.

⁵ *Letters* (1895), I, 327.

⁶ *The Reporter's Gallery*, pp. 299-307.

⁷ See Benjamin Beard Hoover, *Johnson's Parliamentary Reporting: Debates in the Senate of Lilliput* (1953), p. 33; and, for details below, pp. 28-29, 128-130.

up from nothing but lists of the speakers and the topics discussed. Some of the "speeches" were, as Johnson admitted, "the mere product of his own imagination"; in none did he attempt stylistic realism; all were in effect moral essays upon the topics of debate. Johnson did not attend Parliament, though he had some help from persons who did. Half a century later Coleridge not only attended the debates and took notes, but he and his colleagues of the London newspapers were working under conditions of *de facto* legality without Lilliputian disguise; their texts were in print before the following noon and before memories had faded.

Some historians have confidently quoted "Pitt" and "Fox" and "Sheridan" as if their actual words survived. Others have pushed suspicion to the point of rejecting all reported texts.⁸ The editors of the various collected speeches make some distinction between "private" and "public" sources but are not very helpful with their evaluation. W. S. Hathaway, editor of the *Speeches of William Pitt* in 1806, tells us that "some few of the speeches . . . underwent the revision of Mr. Pitt himself" and that "some were communicated by respectable members of the House of Commons from private notes in their

own possession," presumably not shorthand notes; but his materials were "principally derived," he admits, "from the journals of Debrett and Woodfall, and from other public reports of admitted authenticity."⁹ This means, in effect, that most of the *Speeches of William Pitt* derive from newspaper reports. Woodfall's journal would be the *Morning Chronicle* until 1789 and his own *Diary* for a few years after that. Debrett's would be the *Parliamentary Register*, published in one or two volumes a year from 1781 to 1801 and based largely, as we shall see, on newspaper sources. As for the *Parliamentary History* through 1803, called Cobbett or Hansard and actually edited by John Wright (published 1806-1828), for Debrett's period it is mainly Debrett abridged, though with fuller copies of such documents as addresses and motions.¹⁰ Entirely dependent on newspaper reports was *The Senator; or, Clarendon's Parliamentary Chronicle*, a weekly compilation of which not many copies survive.

Some few speakers took pains to preserve their own words—or better words than they had spoken. Canning's editor, in 1828, can assure us that "the far larger portion" of his speeches "Canning . . . had revised personally."¹¹ And Burke's editor, in 1816, announces that six of his texts were "prepared for the public eye, by Mr. Burke himself."¹² Nine others of Burke's speeches have the authority of surviving fragments and notes. Even so, his other two hun-

⁸ One biographer of Pitt (Stanhope in 1861) felt that most contemporary reporting "totally fails to give any just idea of the great orators of the time except in a few salient passages, and unless, as was the case with Burke in his chief speeches, they prepared their own compositions for the press" (*Life*, I, 56). (Macdonagh mistakenly cites this as evidence that Pitt prepared his speeches for the press!) On the other hand, John Holland Rose (*William Pitt and National Revival* [1911], p. 85) accepted as "almost always faithful" the debates reported by Woodfall. And in "The Oratory of Pitt," in *Pitt and Napoleon* (1912), pp. 1-19, Rose raises no question of text; yet I suspect that Rose arrives at his impression of Pitt's oratory as the "most perfect . . . union of grace and force, of stately rhetoric and convincing argument fused in the white heat of patriotism" only by assuming that extant texts are but faint relics of the glowing originals.

⁹ Preface, *Speeches of Pitt*, I, v-vi. By "admitted authenticity" he apparently means that he was helped in choosing among different reports by those he alludes to as persons "whose frequent observations of the style and character of the speaker enabled them to determine the degree of accuracy with which the speeches were reported."

¹⁰ My impression of the *Parliamentary History* is based on a fairly slight sampling.

¹¹ R. Therry, ed. *Speeches of George Canning*, I, viii.

¹² *Speeches of Edmund Burke*, I, vi-vii.

dred had to be "selected from the most esteemed records"—which means the best pamphlets and newspaper reports, though we are advised that "many" of these seem from internal evidence to have been corrected by the author himself, as is not unlikely in Burke's particular case.

The editors of Fox and Sheridan, however, were forced to rely almost entirely on pamphlets and newspapers. The *Speeches of Charles James Fox* "must, of course, come very short of preserving, in their original lustre, those extraordinary specimens of eloquence," laments Lord Erskine in a prefatory Letter; yet, he more hopefully adds, "if they approach as near as is practicable without the aid of short hand, which in its perfection is a most rare talent and which in parliament can seldom be resorted to, they are still highly valuable."¹³ Since the most notable thing about the unpremeditated eloquence of Fox was the vigor of his understanding, the "animated substance remains," and even "in the most imperfect reliques of Fox's speeches, THE BONES OF A GIANT ARE TO BE DISCOVERED."

An early compiler of the whole epoch's *Select Speeches, Forensick and Parliamentary*, Nathaniel Chapman (in Philadelphia in 1808), was more impressed by the general paucity of true reliques. Here and there "single speeches in fugitive pamphlets may have been accidentally, gratuitously, or venally preserved," but the "editor, rejecting vague reports, and newspaper authority," was left with a very small if choice collection. Chapman nevertheless claimed to have recovered "the pure style . . . of Pitt, the rapid elocution of Fox, the variegated imagery of Burke . . . the pungent sarcasms of Sheridan": he could limit his selection to "the re-

vised speeches of Burke," "the two memorable speeches of Sheridan," "all of the pleadings of Erskine . . . faithfully reported" (three weeks' pleadings out of a forensic life of thirty years, according to Erskine's editor), and so on.¹⁴

Was such caution well advised? Must pamphlet and newspaper reports (and thus most of Debrett and Cobbett) be quite rejected? An important distinction, in the first place, needs to be made between long reports giving "the speech at length" (to use the language of pamphlet title pages) and short ones offering only "the substance of the remarks." Some of the pamphlet reports and all of the newspaper reports (hence most of those in Debrett) are of the short variety (the short pamphlets being merely reprints from the papers). But on certain rare occasions, presumably those on which shorthand in Parliament *could* be resorted to, some half dozen days in the whole parliamentary lifetimes of Pitt and Fox, the booksellers managed to obtain "full-length" transcriptions of the remarks of these leading statesmen.

The pamphlet title pages are silent about sources, for parliamentary reporting was still technically illegal; but when Fox, for example, spoke out of doors—at the Whig Club or at a meeting of his electors—the title could proudly declare that his words had been "Taken in short-hand by W. Blanchard . . . for J. Debrett."¹⁵ One of these rare parliamentary occasions was the much-heralded opening debate of 3 February 1800, when not only Coleridge and other reporters for the six or seven morning newspapers were present, but W. Blanchard or some other shorthand expert,

¹⁴ Chapman, *Select Speeches*, I, 10, 13; and James Ridgway, ed. *Speeches of Thomas Erskine* (1810), I, vii.

¹⁵ E.g. the pamphlet, *The Speech of . . . Fox at a Meeting of the Electors of Westminster*, July 17, 1782, 36 p. octavo.

¹³ *Speeches of Fox*, ed. J. Wright (1815), I, vi (my punctuation).

who obtained Fox's speech in 21,000 words for immediate pamphlet publication by John Debrett, and another who obtained Pitt's speech in 25,000 words for similar publication by the Tory bookseller John Wright.¹⁶ Even a full shorthand report—as we shall see—may fall considerably short of completeness; but for the portion of the speech reported it must generally be trusted, because of its extensiveness and the hasty nature of the publication, as fairly authentic except in surface texture.

Another kind of record, still rarer, is an authorized text written out and submitted to Debrett by the speaker himself—and thus absolutely authentic in one sense, though untrustworthy as a report of actual remarks. For the debate of 3 February, Debrett's *Parliamentary Register* first prints, in proper order, a brief newspaper version of George Canning's speech—and then after the debates of 11 February, presents "a more complete and correct Statement of Mr. CANNING'S Speech" of 3 February (X, 470), doubtless revised personally (see above) by Canning himself.

From this information we may deduce our first rule of thumb:

Rule 1. *The very long texts in Debrett (normally anything over 6,000 words) are the reliable ones: shorthand reports or personally submitted texts.* (Whether they are one or the other may be indicated by bibliographical data, such as the delayed position of Canning's second text.)¹⁷

¹⁶ Debrett's source for the Fox speech is a pamphlet of *The Speech (at length) . . . printed for J. Debrett, by A. Wilson*; for the Pitt a pamphlet printed for J. Wright.

¹⁷ The first version of the Canning speech takes up 5½ pages (Debrett, X, 283-287) and totals 3,000 words or about 15 minutes; the second version (pp. 470-491) totals 11,000 words and would make a speech of an hour or so.

Neither Pitt nor Fox wrote out his speeches, though Pitt is said to have revised a few (*Speeches of Pitt*, I, vi). Fox in 1802, supplying the *Monthly Magazine* with a copy of his panegyric on his recently deceased friend the

The existence of a full-length report of Pitt's speech of 3 February, then, will prove to be an invaluable element in our collation of the first Coleridge report. Yet our main critical problem remains the evaluation of the newspaper reports, for these are Debrett's mainstay. Long reports (the Pitt, Fox, and second Canning of 3 February) make up less than one-seventh of the bulk of the 724 pages of reported debates in Debrett's tenth volume (24 September 1799 through 28 February 1800). A selection and combination of newspaper reports supplied the other six-sevenths. These are, doubtless, of a lower order of reliability, but if we understand their precise nature we may be able to discriminate among them.

We have often heard about "Memory" Woodfall, as famous for his inadequacy as for his reliance on "memory with only occasional notes received from some of the speakers"; about Mrs. Radcliffe's husband on the *Morning Herald*, who could dictate from memory to two compositors, "giving each alternately a sentence of a different speech to put into type"; and about James Perry, who organized a corps of reporters who took turns in the gallery "and when relieved transcribed their notes at the office."¹⁸ In a lively chapter on early reporting, Macdonagh collates the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Morning Post* in a few passages and finds "differences in language and expression" which "indicate that only the spirit and sentiment of the orator was captured by the reporters" (271-272). And the general impression of this and similar accounts is that without shorthand the early reporters were, even when organized in

Duke of Bedford, observed "to the Editor that he had never before attempted to make a copy of any speech he had delivered in public" (Stanhope, *Pitt*, III, 371).

¹⁸ Macdonagh, *Reporter's Gallery*, pp. 268-269, 282.

teams, left far behind by those whose words they tried to capture. Yet an occasional contemporary judgment implies that some newspaper reports were considered to be, of their kind, highly authentic. In 1802 Cobbett referred to the *Morning Post* (to which he was not politically friendly) as "universally allowed to have the best reports of any paper in London."¹⁹ Debrett drew heavily on the reports of the *True Briton*,²⁰ although his associations were Whig, and its Tory. And the Tory compiler of the *Speeches of Pitt* sometimes supplemented the Debrett (i.e. *True Briton*) report by drawing upon the *Morning Chronicle* for alternate paragraphs. But perhaps the standard of authenticity implied by these actions and judgments was that of political impartiality rather than textual accuracy.

"On one occasion, a short-hand reporter reporting for me," says Stuart, "enfeebled and lowered the style of the speaker, on which Coleridge said it was passing the speech through the 'flattening mills.'" Yet the speeches had to be put through some kind of mills, for the material cause of what Coleridge later called "the Procrustes Tyranny of the Parliamentary Reporters"²¹ was the small size of the eighteenth century newspaper. Even when stretched to the utmost (as is the *Post* of 4 February)

with five columns instead of the usual four on each page, there was room in a four-page newspaper for only about 21,000 words—or in the usual four-column paper only 17,000—room, that is, for only two or three hours of oratory even if the actual speaking ran from one morning into the next. Macdonagh estimates that Woodfall, in 4,000 words, retained only one-eighth of Sheridan's Begums speech of 5½ hours (7 February 1787). The Procrustean rule had to be: the longer the debate the more condensed the reports.

What the editor of a newspaper needed was not a corps of court reporters but a team of able digesters, taking enough notes to get some flavor of the style and a simplified pattern of the argument which could honestly be represented as "the substance of" the speakers' remarks.²² Consider the following advertisement in the *London Star* of 21 September 1796:

Literature. A gentleman capable of reporting the debates in parliament, is wanted for a London newspaper. A business of no such great difficulty as is generally imagined by those unacquainted with it. A tolerable good style and facility of composition, as well as a faculty of writing, together with a good memory (*not an*

²² Shorthand writers first appeared in Parliament in 1699 to take witnesses' evidence; in the eighteenth century they were used in trials but not in Parliament, even by committees; Gurney took minutes of evidence at Hastings' trial; shorthand writers began in 1803 to be used in committees on private bills (F. Clifford, *History of Private Bill Legislation* [1887], II, 883-885).

In 1804, perhaps in response to publication of the first volumes of Wright's *Parliamentary History*, Coleridge considered to himself "Of how much better it would be in the House of Commons to have every thing that is & by the Spirit of English Freedom *must be*, legal & open / as Reporting &c — / Of Short-handists appointed by the Government itself? . . . They might be printed (but time enough for the Newspapers to reprint!)" (*Notebooks* [1957], I, 1818). In 1804 the newspaper reprint would have had to be a condensation, of course—and "time enough" was impossible: a full shorthand report set in type in time for morning newspapers to digest and set and begin printing by 8 a. m.?

¹⁹ *Political Register*, II (25 Dec. 1802), 859.

²⁰ If we may believe Daniel Stuart, the star reporter of the *True Briton* in 1800 was a Mr. Clarke. In 1838 when Stuart was intent on belittling Coleridge's reporting of Pitt, he made an amusingly circular gesture: taking down a copy of the *True Briton*, in which he "knew the speech [of 17 Feb.] would be well reported . . . by Mr. Clarke," he put it beside Debrett—and was ready to defy anyone to "deny that Mr. Clarke's report is not only the most faithful but the most splendid." Since Debrett's text for this speech was taken from the *True Briton* (except for one paragraph from *The Times*), Stuart's legerdemain brings us no closer to knowing which report is the most faithful to Pitt—and we may still think Coleridge's the most splendid.

²¹ Coleridge in the *Courier*, 22 Mar. 1817.

extraordinary one) are all the necessary requisites. If a gentleman writes short-hand, it is an advantage; but memory and composition are more important.²³

In 1800 there were perhaps seven teams of parliamentary reporters, the best led by shorthand men (James Perry's for the *Morning Chronicle* and evening *Star*, Daniel Stuart's for the *Morning Post* and evening *Courier*, and a team led by Clarke for the *True Briton* and evening *Sun*).²⁴ In a long debate some space could be gained for major speeches by a merciless cutting of minor ones. But the condensation was always great. One might suppose that on a day of few speeches, these would be fully reported; but the norm was the full day, and briefer sessions as a rule were simply given fewer columns in the paper.²⁵

Rule 2. *Newspaper reports* (the main source for Debrett, Cobbett, and the Collected Speeches of individual statesmen) are summary reports and must be evaluated as such. (They seldom run to 6,000 words for the longest speeches.)

In the oft-repeated tales of early reporting there is much emphasis on the "writing on their knees in a constrained attitude," on the poor acoustics, and on the apparent carelessness of the note-taking: "far from setting down all that was said, they only take notes, apparently very carelessly, one word in a

hundred, to mark the leading points."²⁶ Yet the stylistic implications of reducing a hundred words to ten or one are overlooked—for example in the observation that some reporters seem to have preferred "to interpret the sober and prosaic statements of Members of Parliament in terms of literary art, and make them shimmer with the bright play of wit and fancy."²⁷

Reduction may effect heightening as well as flattening. Good digesting is like good translating, a very different skill from straight transcribing. Faithful or unfaithful, a digest or précis retains only a few of the speaker's words and images: inevitably the reporter employs many words and images of his own. He must simplify intricate statements; replace elaborate figures with simple ones, or none; now loosen and now tighten the rhetorical structure; generally ignore the speaker's syntax; and somehow recover the substance but not the form or texture of the original remarks, in a more or less "tolerable good style."

Seen in this perspective, the question of relative reliability resolves itself into two questions: the relative faithfulness to the skeleton and general proportions of the argument, and the relative number of authentic key terms and images retained in the condensation. Both matters are susceptible of evaluation by means of textual collation. The first I shall deal with as it arises but not systematically, though such treatment should be possible. The second I have subjected to a roughly quantitative measurement, though qualitative differences are even more significant and must enter the discussion at every stage. In the process, and because of the amplitude and variety of documentary material at hand, I have

²³ Quoted in Edgeworth, *Practical Education* (1801), II, 158-159.

²⁴ Other morning papers carrying reports were the *Oracle*, *The Times*, the *Morning Herald*, and perhaps the *Albion* (not extant for Feb.).

²⁵ The conditions described prevailed for at least the next three decades. Steam printing gradually enlarged the daily paper, and verbatim reporting grew to be the virtue (and vice) of the mid-Victorian press (see Lucy Maynard Salmon, *The Newspaper and the Historian* [1923], ch. 7). But an account of reporting in 1890 shows that summaries remained the rule for all but the main speaker: e.g. "Instructions. / Gladstone, 1st person, fully. / Churchill, 1st person, cut down. / Harcourt, 3rd person, good summary. / Remainder of debate must be kept to lines." John Pendleton, *Newspaper Reporting in Olden Times and To-day* (London, 1890), pp. 97-99.

²⁶ Louis Simond, *Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain . . . 1810-11*, I, 75.

²⁷ Macdonagh, *Reporter's Gallery*, pp. 297-298.

endeavored to formulate a guide to the discovery of authenticity that should be useful even with much less extensive collation. It is ironic that both Sara Coleridge and Michael Macdonagh, attempting to test the authenticity of "child and champion" as a key term in the second Pitt speech, were within a single procedural step of discovering both its validity and the means of knowing its validity. For they consulted two texts besides the *Morning Post*, and if either of them had looked at just one more text, in any one of four other newspapers, or had grasped the nature of the evidence already in hand, he could have made a safe deduction that the epithet was actually Pitt's. We go on to find it a certain deduction by consulting all the reports, or at least all the independent ones. But before setting forth the rule of this procedure, we need to explore carefully our first bundle of evidence.

2.

For records of Pitt's speech of 3 February, "a speech of near three hours" according to the *Morning Chronicle*, we have by good fortune a full-length pamphlet report of 25,000 words, published by John Wright and immediately reprinted in Debrett's *Parliamentary Register* (X, 301-346, which I shall cite for convenient reference), and, at the other extreme, Coleridge's notes of under a thousand words for the second half, the only "part" of the speech he reported, now in the British Museum (Notebook 4).²⁸ Of independent newspaper reports we have 5,500 words in the *Morning Post*; 4,200 in the *Morning Chronicle*;

slightly shorter reports in the *Oracle* and the *True Briton*; and still shorter ones in *The Times* and the *Morning Herald*.²⁹ It is our bad fortune that for the latter part of the speech most of the newspapers fall away, leaving us for comparison mainly Wright, Coleridge, and Clarke (the *True Briton*); yet, with the Wright, this is sufficient.

Of the first half of Pitt's speech little need be said. Coleridge, who had not reported it, made this comment in his leading editorial in the *Morning Post* of 6 February: "More than one half of Mr. Pitt's speech was consumed in the old re-repeated tale of the origin of the war. This can be nothing more than an appeal to passion." In the second half, the paragraph beginning "But let us see what this change has been" corresponds to the first part of Coleridge's notes that can be clearly deciphered, but some preceding squiggles suggest that we should take up the text a bit earlier.

If we begin collating all texts at a passage in which Pitt is discussing Bonaparte and Malta, a discussion to which all the reporters were alert, we shall find at once an illustration of the typical effects of condensation and of the characteristic differences among reporters—and a convenient occasion to formulate another rule of thumb.

Here the Wright text (Debrett, X, 321) appears, from its length and from the evidence of the other texts, to have been practically verbatim:

After this, it remains only shortly to remind gentlemen of the aggression against Egypt, not omitting, however, to notice the capture of Malta, in the way to Egypt. Inconsiderable as that island may be thought, compared with the

²⁸ Add. MS. 47,500; transcribed in *The Notebooks of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, ed. Kathleen Coburn (1957), I, 651. My own transcription differs somewhat. (Most of the text is palimpsest and very difficult.) We might suppose notes for the first half of the speech to have existed, but we have Coleridge's statement in *CL* and his editorial comment of 6 Feb. (quoted below).

²⁹ The evening papers all derived their texts from the morning ones; examination of provincial weeklies and London semi-weeklies and weeklies reveals nothing but much briefer digests, probably mainly drawn from the dailies. Other derivative compilations were *The Senator*, the *Parliamentary Register*, and, apparently, the *Impartial Report of the Debates*.

scenes we have witnessed, let it be remembered, that it is an island of which the government had long been recognised by every state of Europe, against which France pretended no cause of war, and whose independence was as dear to itself and as sacred as that of any country in Europe. It was in fact not unimportant from its local situation to the other powers of Europe, but in proportion as any man may diminish its importance, the instance will only serve the more to illustrate and confirm the proposition which I have mentioned.—The all-searching eye of the French revolution looks to every part of Europe, and every quarter of the world, in which can be found an object either of acquisition or plunder. Nothing is too great for the temerity of its ambition, nothing too small or insignificant for the grasp of its rapacity.

Here are elegant periods, a certain polish of phrasing; and in so full a report we may fairly trust the shorthand reporter to be recording rather than inventing.

There are five independent newspaper texts. Two reporters catch the phrase "aggression against Egypt"; the others, having perhaps only "Egypt" in their notes, try "invasion of," "conduct of France towards," and "expedition to." Most of the phrasing, to say nothing of the organization of the periods, is disregarded. All omit the dear independence of Malta. Four seize the memorable image of the searching eye, however, three reporting little else:

What was to be thought of the aggression against Egypt? The capture of Malta, which preceded it, might be thought comparatively trivial, if it were not that objects however small cannot escape the all-searching eye of the French Revolution. [*Oracle*, 4:2]

Consider the invasion of Egypt, and the capture of Malta, as if this little Island had been destined to show that nothing was too minute for the all-searching eye of French Republicans for plunder. [*Morning Chronicle*, 3:4]

The only subject that remained to speak upon was, the expedition to Egypt; but first, he would advert to the island of Malta, merely to shew there was no place too small to elude the

vigilance of the all-searching eye of the French Revolution. [*Morning Post*, 2:3]

Here is some flattening: Stuart's man, by dropping "aggression" for "expedition," and "ambition" and "rapacity" for "vigilance," almost neutralizes Pitt's condemnation. The *Morning Chronicle*, the other Opposition paper, retains "plunder" but gets it into the record that Pitt's enemies are "Republicans."

These three papers are keeping close to their notes, one would judge. *The Times* and *True Briton* each say twice as much, but not apparently from having more ample notes: both interpret Pitt's argument by diminishing Malta's importance, as Pitt himself did not:

It remained to speak of the aggression of France against Egypt. Here it would not fail to occur to Gentlemen that the genuine principles of the Jacobin domination were most promptly acted on even in the progress of her fleets to the Egyptian shores. Bonaparte took Malta in his way, a place and an object indeed so small, that it had scarce been fitting to mention it, but that it fails to be observed, that nothing can escape the searching eye of the French Revolutionists. [*The Times*, 3:3]

It only remains for me now to remind Gentlemen of the conduct of France towards Egypt, unless I should stop a moment by the way to consider the treatment of Malta, which, though it may be said that the Island is small, and that the injury was not so extensive on its evil consequences, yet displayed the same spirit, and was marked by every character which could render it detestable. Afraid even of passing by that small island without recognizing the same spirit of plunder and rapacity, its establishment was overturned, and the French General there continued in his former career of devastation. [*True Briton*]

The flatness here is fairly typical for Clarke (if it be he) of the *True Briton*, though he is uneven and at times gives evidence of some power of shorthand, or memory. On the other hand, the man who reported this speech for *The Times* grows increasingly unreliable, becoming much fonder of vivid writing than faithful reporting. Nevertheless this colla-

tion may be taken as fairly representative of the differences among reporters and also of the differences between long report and digest. If we had only the newspapers to draw upon, we could never reconstruct the whole argument and texture; yet the agreement of two or more digests in a phrase or image—"remain[s] . . . Gentlemen . . . the aggression . . . capture of Malta . . . plunder . . . all-searching eye"—proves to be a rather accurate guide to the wording of the original, as coincidence with the long text tells us.

We may be impressed mainly with how small a remnant of the whole speech these agreements preserve for us. But the important thing for our purpose is that agreements among newspaper reports do preserve, by mutual authentication, some of the salient features of the actual speech—even when a long report is lacking.

Rule 2A. *Do not trust any single newspaper report.*

Rule 2B. *The agreement of any two independent reports, even if both are newspaper summaries, is a fairly safe authentication of any striking word, phrase, image, or figure of speech (the relativity depending on the degree of saliency). The agreement of three or more is a certain authentication.*

N.B. All daily morning papers are independent of each other (ignoring the rare possibility of two reporters' having stopped to consult each other as to what was said). When a morning paper is not available, its satellite evening paper may be safely taken as independent of other morning papers. (Though contamination could occur, I have not found in practice that it did.) The Debrett or Cobbett text usually represents one paper, modified by insertions and substitutions from one other.

The obverse is not a rule, that the uniqueness of a striking term proves it to have been the invention of the reporter. Here there are many variable factors. If there are several texts of the passage in question and the unique phrase or concept is quite striking, it

can be safely attributed to the reporter. In the rare case of Coleridge as reporter, since we know his stylistic signature; or, on the other hand, when we are familiar with a speaker's style from fully authentic texts, we may be able to judge certain passages fairly accurately. Otherwise about the only rule that can be confidently relied upon is one that will find infrequent application:

Rule 3. *When two or more texts agree against a unique passage in one report, the latter may be considered the reporter's invention—provided the term or concept they agree in is no mere cliché or empty counter.*

Generally, however, we are not likely to be interested in establishing a reporter's exact contribution to the text. As long as we are concerned entirely with the question of the authenticity of the reporting, we need only the following very obvious refinement of 2A:

Rule 2C. *Passages or terms and images unique in one newspaper report cannot be accepted as authentic, and the distrust should be absolute if there are three or more extant reports.*

The caution and qualification necessary in the application of all these rules will become apparent in particular cases as I continue my report of the main findings of an exhaustive collation of the three speeches on which Coleridge's notes survive. Even this somewhat abridged report will take a good deal of space, I am afraid, but in this sort of experiment valuable knowledge can only be derived from particulars.

In the speech of 3 February, just before the beginning of Coleridge's notes, something happens in the *Morning Post* text that I am tempted to explain by resort to the hypothesis that Coleridge did have to "volunteer" a portion of Pitt's remarks at the point where the preceding reporter stopped and an obvious gap was to be bridged to the firm part of his own notes. Perhaps he had indeed been dozing when Stuart called

on him to take over. They had come to the House at 8 a.m.; Pitt must not have begun this speech before 9 p.m. We would have to suppose that he filled in part of the gap with the help of others and his memory, and then invented some things.

First there appears a witticism in Pitt's remarks which is uniquely reported in the *Morning Post*. Preceding it all reports agree that Pitt said that the French (to quote the *Oracle* version) "sent their Jacobin emissaries [to India] to prepare the way for the new Revolutions, and administer oaths of hatred to all Royalty, except in the person of their dear friend and faithful ally, Citizen Tippoo." This sarcasm drew "a loud laugh" (according to *The Times*, which is this day more inclined to comment on the speaking than to report it). One may suppose that what Pitt said before the laughter subsided was inaudible in the gallery, forcing the reporters to rely on their own invention. The Wright man chose silence. The *Times* man produced a flamboyant passage on the tyrant Tippoo's indisputable title to "the distinction of Citizen," ending with a suggestion that "he was worthy of a place among the excellent citizens who figured in the Pantheon of the Great Nation." Clarke—the *True Briton* was a very loyal paper—alone missed all the mirth: "they created Tippoo a Citizen of the French Government. But here they and Citizen Tippoo had both been foiled." This seems least likely to have been what Pitt said. What seems most likely is the gist of a remark in which both *Oracle* and *Morning Chronicle* concur: that Tippoo was a congenial ally, being "what Bonaparte was speedily to become at Paris, a Military Usurper."

The *Morning Post* goes only one step further, but a giant step and probably the reporter's own. Instead of calling

Tippoo congenial to Bonaparte, this text reverses the emphasis and calls Bonaparte a Tippoo: the Jacobins "have been truly rewarded in their perfidy by having now no other Sovereign on the throne of France, than a rank Citizen Tippoo." I assume that if Pitt had said *this*, the other reporters would hardly have taken a step backward from it.³⁰

A bit further on Pitt read extracts from a report of Boulay de Meurthe, conceivably related to Coleridge's first small page of scribbled notes, which is almost entirely illegible (with later writing on top). Just following this, and just preceding the first passage clearly reported by Coleridge, the *Morning Post* contains an absolutely unique passage, in the sense that no iota of it appears in Wright or in other newspapers. We know that five months earlier Coleridge had daydreamed of sketching a caricature of General Suwarrow, whose bloody reputation made him anathema to British liberals, and of shocking Pitt with an allusion to Bonaparte as the resurrected Saviour of the East (*CL*, I, 529, 539). The unique passage here is a fulsome and ornate eulogy of Suwarrow as a rising sun eclipsing the star of Bonaparte. We might easily suppose it a purely Coleridgean interpolation:

Thank Heaven! that Fame [Bonaparte's] was now eclipsed by the exploits of a General, superior to him in fortune as in talents; and the star of Bonaparte, "dims its ineffectual light," before the rising splendor of Suwarrow! Eclipsed in his military reputation, he has now commenced Statesman and Legislator; and has with sudden violence and lucky temerity effected that change in the government of France; on the merits of which, and of his own character, he grounds the possibility of negotiation.

³⁰ Is it significant that Coleridge uses the phrase in a letter of 2 Oct. 1803—"The Corsican Tippoo Saib"—or was the phrase common currency by that time?

Pitt had, of course, spoken highly of Suwarrow—but had he done so in this speech, and in this language? The strongest evidence that he may have done so is to be found in Fox's speech in the same debate: "The hero of Poland [Suwarrow], perhaps, was merciful and mild! He was 'as much superior to Bonaparte in bravery, and in the discipline which he maintained as he was superior in virtue and humanity!' . . . was he?" (Debrett, 347). Perhaps Fox was quoting from an earlier remark by Pitt (or Dundas). But possibly at this point the *Morning Post* happens to be the only paper to have recorded Pitt's utterance. And perhaps it was Fox who turned "fortune" and "talents" into "virtue and humanity" rather than the *Post* that switched terms. Coleridge, we know, was himself aware of this passage, for he abused "the Ministers" for it in a subsequent editorial (6 February). Scoffing at Ministerial speeches of 3 February as "harangues" that "were absolute confessions of weakness," he summarized: "Long and tedious details of French aggressions, which, if they had been as fair and accurate as they were false and partial, would still prove nothing [—the remark suits the speeches of Dundas, Canning, and Pitt]; violent personalities on Bonaparte, and as violent panegyrics on the superior science, talents, and humanity³¹ of the conqueror of Warsaw and Ismael." Coleridge is plainly alluding to the Pitt passage; it would be interesting to know for certain who was its "real author." More probably Pitt than Coleridge—but possibly not on this occasion or in this framework. The evidence in front of us is only strong enough to give us pause before applying rule 2C and not strong enough to tip the balance either way.

³¹ Note that "talents" is also in the text given Pitt in the *Morning Post*, but that "humanity" is only in the Fox quotation.

Here we have, at any rate, a nice illustration of the conjectural nature of any reconstruction of the actual speech—for even Wright's shorthand man by no means kept up with everything said.

Another peculiar passage in the early part of the 3 February speech is worth noting before we go forward with Coleridge. Wright (303-304) quotes Pitt as making a quite nasty dig at Erskine as pamphleteer: "Inaccuracy in dates seems to be a sort of fatality common to all who have written on that side of the question; for even the writer [i. e. Talleyrand] of the note to His Majesty is not more correct, in this respect, than if he had taken his information only from the pamphlet of the learned gentleman [Erskine]." The *Morning Post* reveals its own bias, for Erskine and against Pitt, in reporting this as a backhanded compliment: "there was a degree of inaccuracy as to dates in his [Erskine's] statement, and that of Talleyrand, which he had observed generally characterised men of their great genius."

Let us step now to firmer ground, to the first passage for which Coleridge has consecutive notes (Notebook 4, fol. 48^v, notes beginning "in Now let us see"). It is a caution against speculation about interpolated passages, by the way, to find no corresponding passage in Wright or the *Oracle* or *The Times*—not to mention the *Morning Chronicle*, whose man had already given up from the lateness of the hour, he said, and the shortness of space (i. e. to save ample room for Fox). To save us from supposing that Coleridge invented the first passage he took notes on, we have a full report in the *True Briton*, somewhat arid (and wretchedly punctuated) but evidently authentic:³²

³² It must be recognized that all reports vary from moment to moment in relative fullness. Though Wright is full most of the time, it is sometimes highly condensed. Though the newspaper reports are, for the most part, digests,

But a change has taken place—let us see what this change has been, what are the effects it has produced, what are the motives which it presents, to induce us to believe that we can negotiate with the new Government with greater security than with those that preceded it. I shall consider under this double aspect which my Right Honourable Friend (Mr. Dundas), pointed out as the distinguishing features of it, under which it ought on this subject to be viewed, 1st, The changes of persons; and 2dly, The nature of the new Government. As to the first, the change is certainly not so great as some might be led to suppose. We find in the Lists of the present Rulers, men who have acted a part in all the different scenes, in all the different horrors and cruelties of the Revolution.

This text, in turn, is authenticated both by Coleridge's jotted notes and by his expansion of them with memory's aid. His notes read:

Now let us see what this change has been—its Quality—from its—[blank space] Change but not great—

From its what? Effects, fruits? This is his reconstruction in the *Morning Post*:

But let us see what this change has been, let us pause and examine what is its peculiar character, what is its probable stability, what are its promised fruits? There has been a change indeed, but a change in the exterior forms rather than in reality and principle.

We see that the notes, except for the word "Quality," which may be Coleridge's own shorthand, coincide with the other report and must be verbatim as far as they go. And the framework of the reconstruction seems authentic: Pitt must have said something in the "what . . . what . . . what" pattern. But did Coleridge remember the "fruits" or plant them? The other reporter's "effects" and "motives" may be closer to Pitt than "peculiar character," "probable stability," and "promised fruits."

they may contain occasional passages that are nearly verbatim. The weekly *Senator* (see below) achieved its girth by simply conflating the fullest portions of all the newspaper reports.

This example is characteristic. Coleridge takes fairly accurate notes of the words or phrases that impress him, then composes a neat edifice, a well discriminated précis, using the original words when they fit. His rhetoric and metaphors are only occasionally Pitt's, but he often does as well or better than the other reporters both for content and for style.

Pitt here had presumably made a coherent allusion to his friend Dundas's recent distinction (Debrett, 267) between form and essence, and presumably the *True Briton* report, though full, is somewhat garbled. Wright lets it go as simply "a change in the description and form of the sovereign authority." Coleridge keeps it brief, but subtilizes: "a change in the exterior forms rather than in reality and principle." When the shorthand man rests, we can recover from the newspapers (when we are lucky) only a part of what Pitt talked about—some of his words and phrases, but few of his sentences and nothing exemplifying his full flow.

A bit further on Pitt made the point that all the authority of the state was now concentrated in the absolute power of Bonaparte. Wright has him quoting Canning: "he wields a sword instead of a sceptre," and Coleridge's notes confirm this: "Sword not Sceptre More than any Despot." But only the *True Briton* has him define Napoleon's despotism by absence of "the shadow of Liberty" or "a relic of Liberty." Only the *Oracle* cites his absolutely abolishing "the freedom of the press." And only the *Post* (with no support from Coleridge's notes) has Pitt call Bonaparte "the sole proposer of all laws to mock-legislators, of whom he was the sole creator." Do we get closer to the authentic speech by amalgamating all these single reports—or should we assume that each reporter has carved

out his own variations? The latter would seem the safer course. And those who know Coleridge will readily suppose him the sole creator of "mock-legislators" and "sole creator." What our collation brings out, however, is that he was not the only creative journalist in the gallery of the House.

The generally dominant aim was, nevertheless, faithfulness in miniature. *More than half of the legible words in Coleridge's notes (totaling about 990) are confirmed as verbatim by the other reports, and half the remainder are easily accounted for as simplifications, like the word "Quality" above.*

The anti-ministerial reporters and the ministerial reporters are not, however, difficult to distinguish. They naturally select for emphasis those parts of the speech that make the best political news, and what they think that to be depends on their political bias. The treatment of references to Napoleon is a particularly sensitive indicator. *The Times'* Pitt rants against the Corsican; the *Chronicle's* calls him the leader of a Republic. Whig and Tory papers do not agree as to whether Pitt spoke of "restoration of the Bourbons" or "restoration of Monarchy." (And in such a case, no arithmetic of textual agreement or disagreement could lead us to an authentic reading.) Coleridge's friend Poole complained that he had "deck[ed] out" Pitt and permitted him, by "the magick of language," to prevail against "truth and reason." There is such a thing as making the implications speak louder than the words, however. The next portion of Coleridge's notes, from "What in his character of promise?" to "No proposals for general Peace All for separate Treaties" (48^r to 47^v), reaches the crux of Pitt's speech, the obligatory justification of his administration's rejection of overtures from the new First Consul. And somehow the *Morning Post*

version gives the Minister's apology more clarity than strength.

Bonaparte has "effected that change in the government of France; on the merits of which, and of his own character, he grounds the possibility of a negotiation," Coleridge has Pitt say (though the other reporters do not) and even has Pitt make it his refrain. "This one man invites us to negotiate for peace with him, and adduces his own character as an inducement." And again, after a long sentence, "He invites us to negotiation, and he offers his own character as the pledge; and he acts consistently in this offer." And still further down: "He proposes to us to negotiate—we return a cold answer."

The repetition of this motif, the "he invites us," the "cold answer": none of this is authenticated by Wright or the *Oracle* or the *True Briton*. (The other reporters have all ceased now.) The opposing refrain, "still he makes no proposals for a general Peace," is authenticated—by everything including Coleridge's notes. Presumably it alone was the point Pitt was emphasizing. The fiercely anti-Pittian private thoughts of reporter Coleridge on the character of Bonaparte happen to flare up in a later page of the notes (fol. 14). When Pitt cites one objection to negotiation as the condition of the French Royalists, Coleridge scribbles an interjection not for transcription: "That a man can talk of Bourbon who has Bonaparte!"

Running ahead now from page 326 to 328 in Debrett, a section reported forthrightly enough by Coleridge though with considerable abbreviation, we come to a passage dealing with "two anecdotes." His notes (47^r) read: "The former disposition illustrated by anecdotes recalled banks of the Thames—" And his text begins: "These pacific dispositions and this good will, we may

aply illustrate by two anecdotes." The first has to do with Bonaparte's quick signing of a peace with Austria at Campo Formio. As Wright has it, "This very treaty of Campo Formio was ostentatiously professed to be concluded with the Emperor, for the purpose of enabling Bonaparte to take the command of the army of England, and to dictate a separate peace with this country on the banks of the Thames." The *True Briton* version explains the word "recalled" in Coleridge's notes: "and for what was he recalled from Campo Formio? To take command of the Army of England, and make a Peace with this Country, with his army behind him, on the Banks of the Thames." The version in the *Oracle* is almost the same. None of these constitutes much of an anecdote. Coleridge's does:

In the flush of victory, when he had even now terminated the war with Austria, he addressed his soldiers as the future army of England, and proclaimed to them, that yet more glorious laurels were reserved for them: they were to pluck them on the banks of the Thames.

Doubtless Pitt took more time for his anecdotes than any of these reporters allow him. Yet is it safe to suppose that Coleridge's dramatic picture of the victor addressing his soldiers bears any close resemblance to what he heard in the House of Commons? He has nothing of this in his notes. Everyone caught "the banks of the Thames," but what about the laurel-plucking, the address to the soldiers? Perhaps Pitt's anecdote focussed on the business of Napoleon's being ostentatiously recalled from Campo Formio, an image dropped out by Coleridge though he had a crumb of it in his notes. Nevertheless the integrity of Coleridge's report of the *second* anecdote, which shows up because at this point Wright's reporter has returned to more ample coverage, should incline us to suppose that in each case Coleridge was making up the

substance of his report, not mainly out of his own cloth but out of Pitt's.

Here is the second anecdote, in Wright:

[The Consul] sent his two confidential and chosen friends, Berthier and Monge, charged to communicate to the Directory this treaty of Campo Formio; to announce to them, that one enemy was humbled, that the war with Austria was terminated, and, therefore, that now was the moment to prosecute their operations against this country; they used, on this occasion, the memorable words, "the Kingdom of Great Britain and the French Republic cannot exist together." This, I say, was the solemn declaration of the deputies and ambassadors of Bonaparte himself, offering to the Directory the first fruits²³ of this first attempt at general pacification.

The *True Briton* text, though briefer, has one element missed by Wright: "I do not take this merely on report; I take it from the authority of his own two confidential friends," etc. We can see, then, that Coleridge's notes are nearly verbatim:

—this not on mere authority Monge & Berthier Campo Formio War with Austria terminated— Britain & France now then for Britain.

And his expansion in the newspaper makes a dramatic but fairly faithful epitome:

At the same time he dispatched Monge and Berthier, his friends and confidants, to the Directory; and these, in the person of their commander, addressed the Directory. "Citizens, we have humbled Austria: Britain remains. France and Britain are incompatible! Now then for Britain!" Such were his dispositions as a pacificator. [*Morning Post*]

Yet the dramatic slogan "Now then for Britain!" is not reported by the others, who all agree (Wright, *True Briton*, and *Oracle*) on slight variants of "Britain and France cannot exist together." Did Coleridge simply invent the next words? Since they are not only

²³ The "fruits" here may have lingered in Coleridge's mind and provided him with the "promised fruits" of a preceding passage.

in his text but in his notes, it may be safer to conclude that he had a better ear than the others for the dramatic, for the most "memorable words." To do so we need not fly in the face of Rule 3, for we may assume that Pitt uttered *both* sentences. Yet Coleridge's version may have been the result, even as he was making his notes, of his own more dramatic way of reducing a lengthier expression—"now was the moment to prosecute their operations against this country" (Wright) being translated by Coleridge into direct discourse: "Now then for Britain!" Wright may be giving us the actual order of Pitt's remarks; if so, Coleridge must have waited a moment while his mind reworded what he then wrote down and what became the climactic phrase of the passage, presented as a direct and dramatic quotation of Napoleon.

From this point on, the number of our witnesses dwindles further. The *Oracle*, running over to a second day (5 February), ceases to present an independent report and draws verbatim on the *True Briton* (of 4 February). The *Morning Chronicle* is saving room for Fox. The *Times* sweeps through the whole second portion of the speech, from before Coleridge's entrance to nearly the end, with this ringing capitulation:

Here Mr. Pitt read several extracts from the speech of Boulay de la Meurthe (the same that Lord Grenville lately read in the House of Peers), and pursuing with much force and eloquence the whole question through the detail of a profound and various view of the character and whole public conduct of Bonaparte, he drew an animated sketch of the military and diplomatic history of that General: his perfidy, breach of treaties, proscriptions, plunder, oppression, tyranny, perjury in three solemn oaths of attachment and loyalty to the Constitution of 1795.

—and a bit more, with one slower passage to treat of the "peculiar playfulness

of irony" in Pitt's refutation of a fiscal point by Erskine.

But now for several sentences Coleridge and Clarke go on abreast, both staying close (in their abridgements) to the fuller text of Wright. Occasionally Clarke makes the shorthand man's kind of error, which is to get a word but miss a meaning. Thus Pitt gave a lengthy account (as we know from Wright) of the administering of an oath, under terror of bayonets, "as the solemn preparation for the business of the day." Clarke picks up the word "business" but misses the solemnity, and it comes out: "he received the oath as a mere business of course." Coleridge more often makes the poet's kind of reinterpretation, as when he departs from his notes ("presented the Con[stitution] by his army of Triumvi[rate]"³⁴—compare Wright: "Constitution . . . imposed by the arms of Bonaparte, then commanding the army of the Triumvirate") in order to use a more graphic image: "The constitution . . . he presented to his fellow citizens on the point of the bayonet." Pitt apparently used the bayonet at another moment; so what matter?

Coleridge's ability to remember a curious word not captured in his notes is attested in his expansion of this note: His Speech to His Soldiers—Sworn on new Banners Patriots that have died

into this in the *Morning Post*:

. . . in a speech to his soldiers, he exhorted them to swear fidelity to it by their banners consecrated by victories, and by the manes of the patriots who had died by their sides!

The "manes," as well as the general accuracy of the expansion, are confirmed by Wright:

. . . he had received the sacred present of new banners from the Directory; he delivered them to his army with this exhortation: "Let us swear, fellow soldiers, by the manes of the patriots who have died by our side. . . ."

³⁴ Fol. 46v, the passage which appears in Professor Coburn's transcription as: "by his own plan."

Clarke of the *True Briton*, not having any flair for the unusual, does not catch "manes," though he gets the "new banners" and the "fidelity." Coleridge, on the other hand, mistakes the banners for old ones, "consecrated by victories." Without the Wright account, which happens to be very thorough in this portion, we would be at a loss for confirmation of words or details.

We have now arrived at what *The Times* describes as "an animated sketch of the military and diplomatic history," which takes 5½ pages of Wright's text in Debrett (329-335) but only 80 words in Coleridge's notebook and is very sum-

Morning Post

But it has been said that Bonaparte has an interest in *these* negotiations, which ensures his fidelity. What Interest? Not in Peace; at least, not in the preservation of Peace.

He has doubtless an interest in drawing England away from her allies, in palsyng Russia,

in amusing all, if so he may recruit the revolutionary energies of France;

he has precisely that interest which it is both our interest and most awful duty to oppose and prevent.

The "drawing England away" and "palsyng Russia" are also in Coleridge's notebook; "amusing" and "most awful duty" are not and are probably not Pitt's words—for thus reads the note-

Morning Post

War is the only possible means of *his permanence*; *his hold upon France is on the sword*. He is connected neither with the soil of France nor the hearts of Frenchmen. A foreigner, a fugitive and a *usurper*, alike detested by the *Republicans* and the *Royalists*;

Pitt probably said "stranger, foreigner, usurper"; Coleridge had "Stranger" in his notes. *The Times*, coming in with

marily treated in all the newspapers. Doubtless by 1800 all were weary of the survey of French atrocities. In this section Clarke is shakier in his knowledge of history and both less accurate and less vivid than Coleridge in his epitomizing.

In the next section, when Pitt gets down to argument again, Coleridge keeps very close at his heels, using mainly the speaker's own words (a selection of them, of course) and even his main images (palsy, sword, laurels). Here it will serve to put the Coleridge text in one column and beside it only the related portions of other reports:

Wright (W), *True Briton* (TB), *Times* (T) . . . it will . . . be argued . . . he has now an interest in making and observing peace. That he has an interest in making peace is at best but a doubtful proposition, and that he has an interest in preserving it is still more uncertain (W).

it is his interest . . . to engage this country in separate negotiation . . . to palsy . . . the arms of Russia (W) . . . could he withdraw England (TB).

[No verbal parallels, but "recruit France" is in Coleridge's notes.]

He has the same interest in making a Peace of this kind that England has in rejecting it (TB).

book: "he has precisely that Interest which commands us to not to lend ourselves to it—." Let us not italicize the words in the *Morning Post* that are also found in the notebook:

Other Reports

permanent pacification? . . . His hold upon France is the sword (W), by the sword (TB) . . . Is he connected with the soil, or with the habits, the affections, or the prejudices of the country? He is a Stranger, a Foreigner, and an Usurper; he unites . . . every thing that a pure Republican must detest . . . faithful Royalist must feel as an insult (W).

"a Corsican usurper, a stranger and a despot," is probably extending the list. And the *Morning Chronicle*, heard

from again, in adding "Jacobins" to "Republicans and . . . Royalists" may be supplying a distinction Pitt did not trouble with here.

In the rest of the passage Coleridge uses his notes, almost straight, and then his memory, not quite so:

Morning Post

he appeals to his fortune, that is, to his soldiers and his sword. He cannot afford to let his military fame die away; with no end but ambition, no passion but a criminal glory, he must groan to regain his laurels, which our gallant countrymen had plucked from his brow, before the walls of St. Acre;

Coleridge likes the laurels "plucked," not just withering (and this may be where he got the laurels for the banks of the Thames, above); Napoleon "must groan" not "still sigh." And though in his notes he has "Aboukir & Smith," he drops Aboukir for Acre, i. e. Smith and his heroic band ("gallant countrymen").

Here the *Times* man, catching a patriotic phrase, comes in with what *sounds* like reporting:

He would be jealous of generals, who must be ambitious; and the experience of Aboukir and Acre, at which latter place the bravery of a few English seamen had taught him to value rightly the power of an English people.

This is apt, and we might accept it if we were able to trust this reporter, but he goes on to make, not Pitt's point that Bonaparte would sigh to fight the English again, but the opposite point that "his mortification would have taught him to fear new disasters and added defeats." This will not do. All along the *Times* man is writing a speech bearing almost no resemblance to that reported by the others. His gist is that our brilliant and clever Pitt said some eloquent things about our brave people

and the brilliant campaigns of our high-spirited Allies and about the atrocious "Corsican usurper." One wonders if *this* reporter is the person who slept through the speech and then volunteered a make-shift for his proprietor?

Generally *The Times* had better men

Other Reports

He appeals to his Fortune; in other words to his army and his sword. . . . can he afford to let his military renown pass away, to let his laurels wither . . . having no object but the possession of absolute dominion, no passion but military glory. . . . Do we believe . . . he would not still sigh over the lost trophies . . . wrested from him by the celebrated victory of Aboukir, and the brilliant exertions of that heroic band of British seamen . . . at Acre (W; *TB* in different words).

on the job—as for the report of Pitt's speech of 17 February, for example. Yet because of its endurance and later fame, this paper is perhaps too confidently turned to by historical writers as the major newspaper authority for this early period.

Coleridge, after another clause imagining Bonaparte "at the head of an army" in Ireland (an image not in his notes or the other reports), failed to report several minutes of Pitt's discussion of Napoleon's ambition and stability. He then made extremely inadequate notes, not much expanded in his newspaper text, on what appears in Wright as an extensive discussion of the function of public opinion, the successive revolutions in France, and the relations of the Revolution to despotism. After this the process of digesting went along with fair accuracy, except for a "decrease" (in notes and text) where there should have been an "increase."

At one point, where Wright reads "I have hoped . . . the effect of the arms of the allies might so far overpower the military force which keeps France in bondage; as to give vent and scope to

the thoughts and actions of its inhabitants," Coleridge has in his notes: "I did hope, that the people might be allowed to have a vent hole—" Did Pitt say "vent hole," or was that the note-maker's simplification?³⁵ For the *Morning Post* he wrote it out: "I do hope, that by the efforts of the Combined Armies, the pressure of the military may be so far removed or lightened, as to allow the nation a vent for their real wishes." Pitt at least said "vent," and Coleridge, concentrating on the image, made a better report than did Clarke, whose shorthand replaced it with "effect," a word from the previous clause: "I have . . . arms so powerful as to give effect to the wishes of the People of France" (*True Briton*).

It was perhaps during this halt that Coleridge wrote himself a memorandum, on the Bourbon-Bonaparte page: "Stiff thin Cutting Pencil." Advice from an experienced reporter? His own notes are scribbled, alas, in a soft, thick, and dull pencil.

After a superficially clear but somewhat garbled summary of the Pitt-Erskine argument on French finances (a matter more closely engaging the *Times* man's attention), Coleridge returned to reporting within quotation marks once more. We are now five of Debrett's pages (about 2,450 words) from the end; 225 words from the end of Coleridge's notes: only 341 words from the end of his final copy, for he did not attempt much reinflation here except to give a proper flourish at the close.³⁶

³⁵ Or was "vent hole" a mishearing of "vent and scope"? (A suggestion by Professor Woodring.)

³⁶ The proportion is more exactly 341 to 196, for the *Morning Post* altogether omits a section—again on the theme of Bourbon restoration—which occupies 29 words in Coleridge's notes (fol. 40r) and fills a page in Wright (Debrett, 342).

Here of chief interest is the verbal accuracy which Wright's and Coleridge's texts attest in each other, a closeness less apparent earlier when both reporters were evidently following the speaker less mechanically than at this fag end. Although Coleridge in this passage skips about 94 words out of every 100 in Wright, the words he does note down are identical to words in Wright—with these few exceptions: "Suppose . . . the House of Bourbon restor'd [reinstated W] . . . enough to do [sufficient occupation W] . . . to rekin[dle]."

Then Coleridge rested on his oars for several minutes while Pitt indulged in some quotation of Cicero and while, according to *The Times*, "Mr. Pitt recapitulated in most glowing, manly, and eloquent language, the several topics of his Speech," and so on—*The Times* telling us less about what Pitt said than about the "sincerity and frankness" with which he "delivered" "his sentiments" and "claimed of the House . . . of the country . . . from all mankind" that they "fully and calmly and distinctly" consider his sentiments and "give him credit for the purity of his motives, and for his wishes—a safe, honourable and permanent peace."

Perhaps the most difficult thing to discover would be the exact note—not to say the language—on which Pitt actually concluded. *The Times* gives him a resounding peroration (unsupported by other reports) in which "he ventured to say" that "his advice and his whole opinions were, he trusted, the suggestions of prudence, on which . . . the country ought to form its conduct that night, and throughout the whole of the present momentous struggle for its liberties, its laws, its ancient establishments, the Constitution, and the Crown. He concluded by declaring his most hearty assent to the Motion." The last sentence we may accept; the rest

was unconsciously written to supply a historical document for Hollywood. The *Whig Morning Chronicle*, on the other hand, dismisses almost half the speech with the half-sarcastic: "After going over all the topics already urged by Mr. Dundas, which he illustrated with great force and eloquence, the Chancellor of the Exchequer concluded with giving his support to the Address."

Wright, more trustworthy if only because free of the pressures of condensation, supplies a quieter and more business-like version. Wright's Pitt makes no rafters ring but placates opposition by weighing the various probable courses of action, rejecting negotiation at the moment, but insisting "that we are not . . . pledged to any unalterable determination as to our future conduct," and at the same time explaining "that it will be the duty of His Majesty's Ministers from time to time to adopt their measures to any variation of circumstances" and to "be governed by the result of all these considerations [here giving several], in the opinion and advice which they may offer to their Sovereign."

How does Coleridge conclude? His notes are in Wright's vein, ending with the quiet denial of unalterable opposition: "but we are at liberty to decide differently." But his printed text omits that and any other weighing of considerations. In short, he gives Pitt the benefit of a finely resounding conclusion:

We are now more likely to gain by war than peace, and every month of war, by exhausting the resources of the republic, draws us nearer to that solid and durable peace!—That peace of safety, confidence, and friendship, which alone deserves the efforts of the wise, or the wishes of the good! [*Morning Post*]

What do we conclude of Coleridge's reporting? Since so many of the other newspaper reporters lagged on this

occasion, we should postpone any general comparative judgment until we come to the 17 February speech, reported in about equal fullness by six morning papers. However, with the help of a full-length report (Wright's) such as is *not* available for the later speech, we are able to test the validity of our second Rule. The following statistics provide very strong confirmation.

The procedure has been to make a list, for each newspaper, of all the salient words and phrases in it which are matched in one or more other newspapers, and then to check this list against the full-length report of Wright.³⁷ By our rules this is making a safe deduction of authenticity into a certain one—and discovering that the degree of safety has been quite high:

Of 15 terms in the *Morning Post*, 12 are confirmed by Wright.

Of 8 in the *Oracle*, all are confirmed.

Of 7 in the *True Briton*, 5 are confirmed.

Of 5 in *The Times*, all are confirmed.

Of 5 in the *Morning Chronicle*, all are confirmed.

(Note. Two of the agreements between *Oracle* and *Morning Chronicle* are confirmed by *variant phrases* in Wright; we should not expect to recover the precise syntax.)

Next, a list of terms *unique* in each newspaper report, as among newspapers, was checked against Wright, the assumption being that those that remained unique were certainly confirmed as the inventions of creative reporting:

Of 13 salient terms unique in the *True Briton*, 2 are in Wright.

Of 5 in *The Times* and 5 in the *Oracle*, none are in Wright.

In Coleridge's portion of the *Morning Post* report I count 28 unique words or phrases; 19 of these, or two-thirds, are not in Wright, but 9 are. Of the 9, 6 are doubly confirmed by appearing in the notebook. Four of the 19 are also there: Wright sometimes nodded; Cole-

³⁷ All these counts are limited to passages that have some parallels in Coleridge's portion of the *Morning Post* report.

ridge sometimes put down in his notebook not what Pitt said but a summarizing phrase.

In reading these figures, we must remember that the reports of the *True Briton* and the *Morning Post* are both much lengthier than the others. But certain conclusions are plain: that agreement between two papers is highly reliable evidence of what the speaker said (but occurs only in a light scatter of passages); that nearly all the unique phrases are more or less *not* what the speaker said; that all reporters generally employ at least as many of their own expressions as they do authentic ones; and that among them Coleridge stands out, both as capturing more of the memorable phrases of Pitt and as adorning his report with more of his own. Neither Coleridge's inventiveness nor his skill should surprise us. Early in life he had acquired the knack of reading political pamphlets and repeating them to his companions, doubtless greatly abridged. He understood the art of the précis. In 1796 in his ill-starred periodical *The Watchman* he had proposed, with a whimsical example, to reduce "all intricate debates" to simple "fact or argument . . . scummed and clarified."³⁸

3.

Having been a newspaper reporter, Coleridge himself was ever afterward inclined to share the world's low opinion of journalistic accuracy. There is an amusingly hollow piece of judiciousness in a remark of his in 1808, in his review of *The History of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade* by his friend Thomas Clarkson. Coleridge opines of the Clarkson book, that its specimens of the eloquence of Fox and other senators "were taken down with uncommon care, and will surprise and delight such readers as have taken their ideas of Pitt, Fox, and

Wilberforce, as orators, exclusively from newspaper reports." If Coleridge had looked into Debrett's *Parliamentary Register* for the speeches in question (from the debates of April 1791 and April 1792) he would have been surprised if not delighted to find that Clarkson's texts for Pitt, Fox, Wilberforce, and others were simply abridgments of Debrett's texts—which were in turn solely derived from newspaper reports.

But we must resume our examination of the Coleridgean reporting in the *Morning Post* of 1800.

The next day of major debate was 10 February, when Sheridan made his promised motion for an inquiry into the failure of the Netherlands expedition. The entire paper of the 11th was filled with reports, which Coleridge again (apparently) helped Stuart supervise, though he made notes that survive only of Sheridan's brief concluding speech. Coleridge told Southey that he "attended the Debates . . . the second Time from 10 in the Morning to 4 o'clock the next morning" and repeated that this activity was "of a very unpleasant kind" (*CL*, I, 569). Since the House adjourned at 1 a.m., he evidently spent the next three hours in the newspaper office. Writing up the Sheridan speech itself cannot have taken him long. But scrutiny of the others yields nothing instructive.

Sheridan's concluding remarks seem to have been fairly brief, and Coleridge seems to have taken *relatively* verbatim notes. Nearly all the words in at least the first half of his notes appear also in the *Morning Chronicle* report (and some are further confirmed by the much briefer reports in *The Times* and the *Oracle*); nearly all are used in his *Morning Post* text. In total his text of 1,000 words represents an amplification of notes of 336 words, a tripling.

³⁸ *Watchman*, No. 2; *Essays*, I, 128.

Probably for reasons of space, though possibly from scantiness of notes, the whole center of the speech was omitted (corresponding to about a third of his notes, Notebook 10, from fol. 6^v to fol. 9 and most of fol. 10^v).³⁹

Our second Rule seems to be very safely applied in this sort of example, and we may even propose a modification and extension of it:

Rule 2D. *The agreement of two independent reports may be allowed to authenticate even words that are not especially striking—when they occur in sizable consecutive runs.*

Even so, there is almost never an exact agreement in syntax:

The very first day that Parliament did meet, I gave notice of my intended motion. [*Morning Post*]

He had given notice of his motion on the first day after the meeting. [*Morning Chronicle*, switching to indirect discourse]

In this example the first eight words in Coleridge's text are exactly as he recorded them in his notebook, and from this and other passages he would seem to be staying much closer than the *Chronicle* to direct quotation. At some points indeed the *Chronicle* text, relied on by Debrett, is badly garbled; he would have done better to consult the *Post*. Reporters notoriously failed to capture the mirth in Sheridan's speaking, and Coleridge does rather better in this respect than any of the others. Nevertheless it is on the whole appalling, considering his amplitude of notes in this case, how very little of the Sheridan speech really gets through to us. Somehow none of the reports is adequate at the cruxes.

One example will have to suffice. Sheridan says his friend has accused him "of being meally-mouthed" (as three reports agree). Now *perhaps* Coleridge got his next words: "He believes him-

self to have caught me *tripping in a lie of candour*, for which, he hopes, I shall atone in my reply." (The italicised words are in Coleridge's notebook.) But shouldn't it be a *lack* of candour? The *Chronicle* report, obviously wrong in meaning, "he accused him of having taken a line of candour for which he ought to apologize," nevertheless, in sound, indicates that the word was not "lack" but either "lie" or "line," leaving the present reader, at least, not at all convinced that "tripping in a lie or line of candour" makes sense, and inclined to suspect that Sheridan executed some little pirouette of word-play that left all the reporters blinking.⁴⁰

4.

A week later, 17 February, Coleridge went to his final siege in the House of Commons, working this time "till 5 o'clock" the next morning, his head aching from overwork. "Read Pitt's Speech in the Morning Post of today," he advised Southey. "I reported the whole with notes so scanty, that—Mr. Pitt is much obliged to me. For by heaven he never talked half as eloquently in his Life time. He is a *stupid insipid* Charlatan, that Pitt—Indeed, except Fox, I,

⁴⁰ A student of Sheridan's oratory, Professor Jerome Landfield of Oberlin College, offers this comment: "Coleridge's phrasing, 'lie of candour,' has more of Sheridan's crispness than 'line of candour' and seems less of a paraphrase. One of Sheridan's favorite figurative devices was a kind of antithesis-epithet, as when he refers, in the Begums speech of 1788, to Hastings' 'conscious innocence.' 'Lie of candour' is the same kind of ironic conscious contradiction. Further, the sense seems to be related to the statement of Sheridan's 'that he did not wish to dispossess ministers of their places,' which would be more of a lie of candour than a line of candour, because Sheridan's ambitions were known, and some in his own party besides Fox suspected him of being a political opportunist. Hence although the phrase still baffles me somewhat, I agree that it is probably 'lie of candour,' because of Coleridge's keen reportorial and stylistic sense, its compatibility in style with other (earlier) phrases of Sheridan's, and the meaning involved."

³⁹ BM Add. MS. 47, 507; *Notebooks*, I, 652.

you, or any Body might learn to speak better than any man in the House (CL, I, 573).

Collation does not indicate that Coleridge's notes were more scanty than anyone else's—but it does rather support his boast of having made Pitt speak more eloquently, at least for vividness of language, than in real life. It was this occasion that Stuart dredged up from memory to refute the story of Coleridge's having slept through the speech he subsequently "volunteered." Pitt spoke in reply to an unexpected opposition speech, and "Coleridge, who was with me in the gallery, certainly reported a part, if not all of that speech, which was not a very long one. . . . It was in that speech that Pitt called Bonaparte the Child and Champion of Jacobinism. Coleridge reported this the Child and *Nurseling* of Jacobinism, and it was with difficulty I could prevail on him to adopt my reading. Again, Coleridge reported Pitt to have said, England had 'breasted the tide of Jacobinism.' I recollect objecting that Pitt did not say so, but it passed as Coleridge wished."⁴¹ Coleridge's notes for the whole speech survive.⁴²

Mrs. H. N. (Sara) Coleridge, preparing her 1850 edition, compared her father's report with that in *The Times* and announced, rather triumphantly, that "child and champion"—that "striking expression . . . which was continually repeated afterwards"—does not occur in the contemporary report but only "in the later edition . . . in the Collection of Pitt's speeches" (i.e. of 1806), a report which "differs from my Father's *upon the whole* even more than" the *Times*. She did not know that the 1806 text had been compiled from the *True*

Briton and *Morning Chronicle*, in alternating paragraphs.⁴³ These and other independent reports attest that Stuart was right and that the "nursling" in Coleridge's notes was a mistake; also that "breasted . . . the tide of Jacobinical power" was a Coleridgean invention.

For this speech no full-length report exists, but it is an impressive one (in any version) and evidently kept all the newspaper men awake. Here is an ideal set of data for the application of our rules. There exist five independent reports at the usual newspaper length (2,800 to 4,050 words), another at half that (1,550 words), and another apparently independent digest at quarter length. The actual speech must have been at least three times the length of the longest report, and may have been five. This list represents almost the full complement of London's debate-reporting press:

<i>Morning Post</i> (repeated in evening	
<i>Courier</i>)	4,050 words
<i>Morning Chronicle</i> (repeated in	
evening <i>Star</i>)	3,450 words
<i>Oracle and Daily Advertiser</i>	3,300 words
<i>True Briton</i> (repeated in	
evening <i>Sun</i>)	3,150 words
<i>Times</i>	2,800 words
<i>Morning Herald</i>	1,550 words
<i>London Chronicle</i> (repeated in	
<i>London Packet</i>) ⁴⁴	820 words

The most striking impression that rises from a full collation of all these reports is the high degree to which each of them is unlike the others. Most of them contain the same main ideas or arguments, familiar counters by this seventh year of the "just and necessary war" for "security." But in rhetorical

⁴³ Presumably to provide an alternation of biases, since the Debrett report was based on the *True Briton* alone, except for one paragraph drawn from *The Times*.

⁴⁴ *London Chronicle* of 15-18 Feb.; *London Packet* of 17-19 Feb.—semi-weekly papers that appear to have been composed in daily segments; the report would seem to be independent.

⁴¹ Stuart in *Gentleman's Magazine* (May 1838), 488.

⁴² Notebook 10 (BM Add. MS. 47, 507) fols. 34 through 14. My transcription differs somewhat from that in *Notebooks*, I, 653.

structure, in the apparently memorable phrases (with rare exceptions such as "child and champion"), as well as in the general tone and quality of diction, they vary widely, each reporter fathering upon the speaker his own vocabulary of epithets and nuances.

Only the *Post* has Pitt speak of "the youth and rampancy of Jacobinism," only the *Morning Chronicle* of "its meridian splendor": the other papers were all more Ministerial than these two Opposition journals—and so, of course, was Pitt himself, who probably did not incline to use such fine phrases of the hated "ism" even sarcastically.

Only Coleridge has Pitt make anything like the admission that he and his associates have been charged with being "insensible to the miseries, and enemies to the liberties of mankind; that the extinction of Jacobinism is their pretext, but that personal ambition is their motive"—and quite possibly this idea was "volunteered" by the reporter. Yet Coleridge allowed the Minister some sensitive self-justification in having Pitt say he was "conscious of sincere and honest intentions in the use of" "the just and necessary distinctions of intelligible prudence."

As for the erroneous "nursling and champion," which Coleridge jotted in his notebook, on the one hand it is probable that Pitt in the cluster of words out of which most reporters selected "child and champion" said also something like "reared and nursed" (see list below). On the other hand it must be recognized that Coleridge had a kind of proprietary interest in this concept, worth tracing as an indication of the curious hooks of rhetoric that held editorial writer and orator and reporter close together. In the letter Coleridge wrote on the morning of his first reporting he described the pleasure felt by a newspaper scribe who could "re-

flect that what he writes at 12 night will before 12 hours is over have perhaps 5 or 6000 Readers!" "To trace," he explained, "a happy phrase, good image, or new argument running thro' the Town, & sliding into all the papers! . . . Then to hear a favorite & often urged argument repeated almost in your own particular phrases in the House of Commons—and quietly in the silent self-complacency of your own Heart chuckle over the plagiarism, as if you were grand Monopolist of all good Reasons!" (*CL*, I, 569). The present was such a hearing of "almost" his own phrase. As early as 1795 Coleridge had defined Mystery as "the dry-nurse of that . . . imp, Despotism" (*Essays*, I, 4). In his *Morning Post* editorials of 1800 he first referred to France as the "birth-place and nursery" where Jacobinism was now disowned (3 January). His next charge was that it had left its "birthplace" and that Pitt was now the "true fosterer and dry-nurse of Jacobinism" (8 January, in an essay which he felt had caused a "sensation"). Hence, when Pitt came out with a reverse application of the image to Bonaparte, to the effect that *he* was the (something) and champion of Jacobinism reared (or nursed?) in its bosom (or principles?), he easily made it "nursling and champion," confusing his own phrase with Pitt's. Two years later (2 October 1802) he picked it up again as his own: "parricide child and champion."

In his report of the present speech, he added several improvisations on this base: "who has fought its battles; who has systematised its ambition, at once the fiercest instrument of its fanaticism, and the gaudiest puppet of its folly!" None of this is paralleled in other reports.

What Coleridge's Pitt says about Jacobinism, as a matter of fact, reflects

the reporter's own fascinated interest in the subject; he assists the speaker to carry its castigation to Burke-like limits. He gives Pitt more space on the subject than the other reporters do, and greater intensity of revulsion. Consider the passage on which Coleridge took the following note: "The mind once tainted, can never wholly free itself from it. I know no means of purification." Other reporters took down about the same words; then each elaborated in his own way. Coleridge thus, in the *Morning Post*:

I am not so shamefully ignorant of the laws that regulate the soul of man. The mind once tainted with Jacobinism can never be wholly free from the taint; I know no means of purification; when it does not break out on the surface, it still lurks in the vitals; no antidote can approach the subtlety of the venom, no length of quarantine secure us against the obstinacy of the pestilence.

The first sentence may well be Coleridge's own, rubbing in the "knowledge of human nature" business. But Pitt clearly did speak of a *mind* or *minds once tainted*. Consider the other renditions. The *Oracle* changed image and construction to "imbibed," "were seduced," but kept "once"; *The Times* turned "once" to "ever," rather pompously changed "mind" to "persons" and added the moral tag, "unfortunately for themselves and for society." The *Herald* reporter sentimentally changed "mind" to "breast." The *True Briton* skipped over the whole matter. If, as does not seem likely, it was Pitt and not Coleridge who pursued the diagnosis from mind to vitals and skin, why did no other reporter hear him?

What did Pitt say the mind was tainted with?—Jacobinism or "it," which the press variously translated: "poisonous contagion of Jacobinical doctrines," a "plague" (*Times*); "its impressions . . . allurements . . . now dormant princi-

ples" (*Oracle*); "that infection . . . the poison of that foul distemper" (*Morning Chronicle*); "it" (*True Briton*); "such doctrines" (*Morning Herald*); a subtle "venom" and obstinate "pestilence" that "still lurks in the vitals" and could "break out on the surface" (Coleridge).

The prognosis? Pitt obviously said he knew (the personal "I know" of Coleridge's notes is supported by the *Oracle*) "no quarantine, no purification" (in that order, probably). Did he say it that baldly? Coleridge pursues the disease, adding "no antidote"; his paper and most of the others have it, in various words, that the tainted never (wholly) recover. Four add (as Pitt must have done) that "the present generation" must first pass away.

The variation and agreement among the reports of this passage are in some senses typical for the whole of this rather attentively reported speech, except that the closeness of agreement on the key words here is rare (see tally below). A commoner type of agreement is on the key sentiments. Thus, when Pitt unfurled some patriotic clichés, each reporter jotted down only a simple clue (Coleridge: "This Country will not. It knows—its prosperity—Constitution") and proceeded to fill in with his own favorite counters:

Morning Post: "This country, Sir . . . knows that to this war it owes its prosperity, its constitution, whatever is fair or useful in public or domestic life, the majesty of her laws, the freedom of her worship, and the sacredness of our firesides."

Times: "to preserve its national Independence, its Constitution, its civil and religious rights, its trade, commerce, and all the blessings which we at present enjoy."

Morning Chronicle: "this country . . . to preserve the sources of its prosperity, its happiness, its glory, its freedom."

True Briton: "to save the dearest Rights, to defend the most valuable Privileges, to protect the Constitution, the Laws, the Liberties, the In-

dependence, the Security, and the Happiness of our Country."

Oracle: "for the protection of our Property, for the maintenance of our Resources, and for the re-establishment of solid Peace?"

Morning Herald: "to bring it to a safe and honourable issue."

London Chronicle: "to a safe and honourable conclusion."

Obviously no one remembered or cared to record Pitt's actual words. The *London Chronicle* recorded (or invented?) what really mattered: "[A cry of Hear! Hear! from the Treasury Bench, which was also echoed from the other side of the House.]"

Only in one passage, again in the peroration, does Coleridge's report (here unsupported by notes) depart extensively from all the others. Early in the speech Pitt scolded those who would connect the war and the scarcity of grain, adding a complaint against "appeals to the people on a subject which touches their feelings, and precludes their reasoning" (as the papers almost unanimously worded it). In his peroration he repeated the scolding, but only the *Morning Post* reports him as making another and extensive reference to an appeal to feelings (though the *True Briton* reports a remark about "misleading the public mind"). On this apparently slender thread Coleridge weaves a long sentence on the duty of abstaining from arguments that appeal to passions and tend to excite popular irritation—a passage in line with his own credo (see the famous letter to his brother of April 1798) yet at the same time justifiable as an elaboration of the meaning of Pitt's earlier complaint.

Other Coleridgean variants may be left to a statistical summary. With so many reports of this speech available, and with the reports so free of lapses (judging each against their composite—for it can, I think, be safely ruled out that all six reporters slept at all the

same intervals or that five slept while one captured a strikingly memorable utterance), a comparative evaluation is possible and valuable. I have made a complete collation, the results of which can be conveniently reduced in presentation (without significant change of proportions) by singling out only the relatively eloquent or memorable words and phrases.

Here follow the results of a comparative tally of all the metaphorical, image-bearing, or even simply vivid words or phrases in all the reports. *Two matters of greatest interest about each reporter may be put in these questions: To what extent does he capture the language of the speaker? To what extent does he coin his own?* And of course we are interested in where Coleridge stands on both scores.

Without a full-length report such as we had for the speech of 3 February, we must deduce the language of the actual speech from the coincidence of two or more reports (Rule 2) and accept the probability of some range of error. Going through the speech in sequence, we find the following terms agreed upon by two or more sources:

Pitt's probable language (phrases condensed to a common denominator)⁴⁵

I rise [MC,T]

object in one word: security [MP,MC,O,T,MH, TB]

menaced all nations [MP,MC,MH]

?undisguised hostility, secret machination [MC, possibly supported by T, which has "machinations," and MP, "disguises"]

shifting scene(s) [MP*,T]

gallantry of [fleets T/troops O/navy MH]

concentred [MP*,T,MC,O,Packet] and condensed [TB,T,P] and enthroned [MC,P,T, and (much later in speech) MP*,T (again)]

child and champion [MP,MC,O,TB,P]

reared [MP,TB,T] and ?nursed [TB, supported by "nursling" in *]

mind once tainted [MP*,MC, "once tainted" MH]

⁴⁵ Asterisk (*) marks words also in Coleridge's notebook.

no quarantine [MP,MH,O]
 no purification [MP*,MC,O,T]
 lull[ed us] [MP*,TB]
 governed by words [MP*,MC,O,MH]
 aggrandisement of Austria a truly British ob-
 ject [MP*,O,T,MH]
 ifs and buts of special pleading [MP*,MC,O,T,
 TB]
 compromise with Jacobinism at end [MP*,T,
 MH]
 spectators [MP*,MC]
 to palsy arm [MP*,T] palsy army [TB] palsy,
 disarm [MC]
 paralyze strength [TB] paralyse energies [MH]
 paralyze efforts [O]
 peace broken to-morrow [MP*,MC]
 fortress put to sword, surrender [MP*]
 garrison " " [TB]
 garrison surrender [T,O]
 garrison in fortress put to sword, surrender
 [MH]
 to connect the words war and scarcity [MP,TB,
 T]
 to ally . . . war and scarcity [MH,MC,O]

Inclusion of other phrases or exclusion of some of these would change the totals somewhat but not the general picture. If we assume that Pitt used all the terms in this list which two or more papers agree on (i.e. both "fortress" and "garrison" but "arm," not "army" or "disarm"), we find Coleridge's notes on a par with the best other reports but his restored text much better than the best, in this matter of faithful recovery of the speaker's actual words:

Words or phrases supported by other reports

25	in <i>Morning Post</i>
17	in Coleridge's notes
17	in <i>Morning Chronicle</i>
17	in <i>Times</i>
14	in <i>Morning Herald</i>
13	in <i>Oracle</i>
11	in <i>True Briton</i>
4	in <i>London Chronicle</i>

The other half of the story, of course, lies in the tally of the words or phrases unique in each report. Here for the rest of the press we find about what we did, proportionately, for 3 February and may suppose the skepticism of our Rule 2C

to be generally applicable. But this time Coleridge's performance is somewhat different. Not only does he outstrip his own previous coinage of unique expressions, but in his list there is a much lower proportion of terms supported by notebook readings as probably authentic.

Since there are many parallel texts available for collation in this instance, even though no long report, I am inclined to think that we ought to have a rule for their evaluation, expressed at least in terms of tendency:

Rule 3A. *Unique readings among three or more newspaper reports strongly TEND to be the invention of the reporters.*

Note that the qualitative differences in these lists seem to afford criteria for describing the styles of the different reporters rather than to reflect the style of Pitt:

Unique imaginal phrases in the *True Briton* are few and rather hackneyed:

bosom of country, heroic exertions in field, [nursed] in bosom, dangers springing, source from which flow, plunge us in misfortune, speak the voice, patching up peace, blind the judgment (9).

In the *Morning Herald*:

danger parried, propagation of Jacobinism, bloody reign, fears take alarm, upon the face of the earth, purge the breast, to harass and weaken, trenched on the freedom of debate, to shackle the hands of Government, to throw obstacles in the way, seize opportunity of broaching doctrines (11).

The *Morning Chronicle*, cool where the *Herald* is turgid, has only:

presented barriers to resist progress, resisted by arms, lost its sting, bend us down before meridian splendour, fruits of expenditure, multitude in their coolest state, alive in minds [of spectators] (7).

The *Times* inclines to the vaguer clichés: met the pressure and exigency, triumphed over magnitude, wicked energy, horrible policy, minute and laborious researches, plague, cleanse, lavishing [blood and treasure], erased from my mind, rooted out, throw off yoke (10).

The *Oracle* is flatter:

bloody reign, usurped name, minds imbibed impressions [for "minds tainted," which *Times* makes "persons tainted"] seduced by allurements, surrendered into hands, break the fence of Jacobinism, rupture of treaty, a Continent act against an Island, supply void, bring into field (10).

Coming now to the *Morning Post* we rise steeply in quantity and quality—nearer to or further from Pitt? Further, in almost every case. A few of the unique phrases, fairly tame ones, are also in the notebook and are easily accepted as Pitt's:

comes back upon me, strip France, make head against, cut off from [Continent] (4).

But the list of the remainder, though including some tame ones, includes several that are quite unlike any of the language of other reports:

strained all sinews, stifling evil, breasted the tide of power, pierced with stedfast eye [through disguises], stumbling and drunken [tyranny], insulted and roused us, short-sighted ambition, bloody [scene], fought battles, gaudiest puppet of folly, presses hand, break out on surface, lurks in vitals, youth and rampancy of Jacobinism, prodigal [of blood], squandered [millions], firesides, presses me upon dissonance, breaking ties of union, shade of difference, vote a single farthing, not press hard, all travel same road, all that forms and feeds sources, convulsive efforts as imply feebleness, routed, disarmed, fettered, Jacobinism extinct or dying, feebleness ensuing [exhausted] finances, irritation a branch to, softer name, eyes open to horrors, feeling lurks behind, [spectators] caught disease by looking on, haughtiness of tone, stifle suffrages, way-lay it, true picture, mark and pledge of genuine, lessoned by experience (39) (total 43).

5.

A word, finally, should be said about the reports in the weekly *Senator* (1790-1800 subtitle, *Clarendon's Parliamentary Chronicle*; 1801-1802 subtitle, *Chronicle of the Proceedings and Debates of the Imperial Parliament*). While these are wholly derivative from newspaper sources, they are compiled with

much more assiduous use of scissors and paste than the editors of Debrett or Cobbett found time for—and are thus derivative in a much more amply eclectic fashion.

There is a good deal to be said for this method, which brings together the fullest portions of all the newspaper reports. When there is no full length report of a given speech and you want to save the trouble of collating all the papers (and are not concerned about accuracy) simply turn to the *Senator*. An analysis of the *Senator's* texts for the three speeches we have been examining will show how it is put together; and we shall see, incidentally, that all the portions which seem to be Coleridge's additions or which are at least unique in his reports and have for the most part not got into Debrett or its derivatives are nicely preserved in the *Senator*:

3 February (second half): *Senator* text all from *TBrit.*—plus the Suwarow paragraph from *MPost*.

10 February: text from *MChron.*, with exception of seven sentences from *MPost*, including the bit about Taylor's stopping half way in the Speaker's Chair (which is fuller and clearer in *MPost*).

17 February: text largely from *MPost* (the obvious choice for full rich flavor) but eked out with snippets of comment from *Times* and amplifications from *TBrit.* and *MChron.*, in the following sequence and proportions: *MPost* ½ page; *Times* 3 sentences; *MPost* ½ page; *TBrit.* 2 sentences; *MPost* 3½ pages; *Times* 1 page; *TBrit.* ½ page; *MPost* 5 sentences; *MChron.* ½ page; *MPost* 2 sentences; *Times* ½ page; *MPost* 3 sentences; *MChron.* 2 sentences; *MPost* ½ page. This brings together nearly all the Coleridge and the fieriest rant from *The Times*.

This eclectic compilation produces a rather different result from the balanced

text achieved by Debrett's use of alternating sources. Here the patches are not particularly well fitted together. Sometimes matter is repeated; sometimes the voice jumps from third person to first and back again. And the *Senator* makes no use of full-length reports. But in its way it misses nothing that any of the *papers* reported or invented. Coleridge, by the way, was a reader of the *Senator* in his *Watchman* days.

Unlike the *Senator*, because it is not only derivative but considerably abridged, is a compilation published in 112 volumes from 1774 through 1813: *Parliamentary Register; or History of the Proceedings and Debates of the House of Commons (and the House of Lords), containing the most interesting Speeches, &c.* (London). This is now extant only in a single set, but since that is located where many scholars will be tempted to use it, in the British Museum, a word of evaluation is in order. Pitt's speech of 3 February is there, pure Debrett but abridged. The Sheridan speech of 10 February rather naturally does not rate among "the most interesting" and is not reported at all. The Pitt of 17 February is made out of alternate segments from Debrett and from the *Morning Chronicle*, with extensive omissions.

Another compilation, extant only in a few broken volumes in Birmingham, Durham, Greenock, Maidstone, and London University College, is listed in the *British Union Catalogue of Periodicals* (4 vols., 1955-58): *Impartial Report of the Debates that Occur in the Two Houses of Parliament*. London. 1794-1802. (Also known as *Woodfall's Parliamentary Reports*); continued as *Parliamentary Register; or, an Impartial Report of the Debates that Occur in the Two Houses of Parliament*. London. Vols. 1-5. 1803-04. From the alternate

title, this would appear to have begun as a collection of Woodfall's newspaper reports (see above). But I have not examined it.

6.

CONCLUSION

The simple rules of textual analysis, applied to the collation of newspaper reports of parliamentary debates, can sift out a small but sometimes significant sprinkling of the more salient expressions of the original speakers, separating these from the common matrix of reportorial clichés on the one hand and the occasional creative substitutions of a literary reporter on the other. Armed with this method, plus the knowledge that an occasional lengthy report in Debrett may be respected as a shorthand or an authorial text, the historical scholar need not turn with indiscriminate suspicion from all the unsifted ore of Debrett, Cobbett, or Hansard.⁴⁶

The student of living oratory, however, must despair of recovering in anything like high fidelity the authentic texture and structure of the curious high finish of Pitt, let alone the true eloquence of Fox. Certainly in the news-

⁴⁶ The "rules" scattered unhandily through the preceding pages may for convenience be summarized in the form of three procedural stages:

STEP A. Distinguish the long reports, which may be either authorial or shorthand texts, from the short ones derived from newspaper précis (Rules 1 and 2).

STEP B. Collating as many reports as possible, determine the authenticity of the relatively vivid expressions from the agreement of two or more independent reports (Rules 2A, 2B, 2D).

STEP C. Assign to the reporter rather than the speaker any vivid passages unique in one report when two or more independent reports agree against it (Rules 3, 2C, 3A).

So much for rules of thumb; but use the subtler fingers too.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE. For location of extant runs of newspapers of this period, see the comprehensive *Index and Finding List of Serials Published in the British Isles 1789-1832*, comp. William S. Ward (Lexington, Univ. of Kentucky Press, 1953).

paper compendiums—and therefore in most of the texts that fill the volumes of collected parliamentary speeches—the authentic voice that survives is not that of the speaker but that of one or many ventriloquist reporters, Debrett's choice not always being of the soundest.

To the literary scholar there might be adventure in the effort to recover some of the lighter oratorical wit of Richard Brinsley Sheridan, but our meager results with the Coleridgean sample here seem the opposite of encouraging. Turning the telescope another way, it might be worth while looking up the three speeches of Byron in the House of Lords, first to discover what source (Cobbett I suppose, but behind that some newspaper) the texts in the standard Prothero edition are drawn from, and then to search out other newspaper reports to see what a collation will yield. (In this case I believe that the notes which Byron spoke from are extant for comparison.)

As for Coleridge, we have discovered: that there are three different degrees of originality in his three reports and that he managed to outdo other newspaper reporters by being simultaneously more faithful and more splendidly creative. In his first report he generally practiced only the legitimate metamorphoses incident to the digester's art, ex-

cept for a few unresisted temptations to insert whole new swatches of his own material (though one of these may simply be a Coleridgean scoop). In his brief second report he was even more accurately pedestrian, using all the words he had taken down (for the passage transcribed) and adding only the most plausible filling. But in his third and "sensational" report, while giving us a good deal more Pitt than the other reporters, he gave us even more Coleridge than Pitt, everywhere yielding to the temptation to adorn the frame of Pitt's argument with unauthorized flowers of rhetoric. In both Pitt reports indeed the weight of these was often so great as to distort that frame. Coleridge had begun his political life a scorner of Pitt and Pitt's "system." He rose from the chore of writing out that final speech with the ghostwriter's contempt for the "Charlatan" whom he had made talk so eloquently, and with a feeling that he himself "might learn to speak better than any man in the House" except Fox.

It was "a strange and incongruous phase of his career," observes Michael Macdonagh (306). "He was a born talker. It was not a parliamentary reporter he should have been, but a parliamentary orator. . . . he with a brain so extraordinarily fertile."

THE USE OF FAST LIMITING TO IMPROVE THE INTELLIGIBILITY OF SPEECH IN NOISE

ELWOOD A. KRETSINGER and NORTON B. YOUNG

Comparisons were made between the conventional speech clipper and an experimentally fast speech limiter to determine which system produced the more intelligible speech in the presence of noise. It was found that fast limiting produced significantly higher intelligibility than clipping at both 10 db. and 20 db. of compression. It was assumed that the measured difference in harmonic and intermodulation distortion of the two systems was the causal factor.

SINCE the early days of electrical voice communication various schemes have been devised for altering the speech waveform in order to enhance the efficiency of its transmission and reception. During World War II it was learned that the intelligibility of discrete words could be improved by increasing the amplitude of the consonants relative to that of the vowels.¹ This was accomplished by electronically clipping the peaks of the waveform so that all sounds, consonants and vowels alike, were made equal in amplitude. For the consonants (normally about 12 db. weaker than vowels) this resulted in a considerable net gain. The development has been particularly beneficial in radio voice transmission where noise often masks the weak signal. The speech clipper, however, is non-linear and generates a high order of harmonic and intermodulation distortion. These distortion products, particularly those associated with intermodulation, tend to mask in-

telligibility after the fashion of ambient noise.² It would seem, therefore, that any system which could produce the same consonant-to-vowel ratio as the clipper without the latter's characteristic distortion would yield still more intelligible speech reception where noise is a masking factor.³

Any consideration of compression with low distortion must take into account the popular peak limiter. This circuit has relatively little distortion and is employed extensively in standard broadcasting stations to prevent over-modulation of the carrier. It is, however, "slow" in its operation. While the clipper acts instantaneously upon the individual sound, the limiter requires a finite period to attack the leading edge of the waveform and a much longer period to release the trailing edge. Release times for conventional limiter application will range from .2 to 1.5 seconds, and it is customary to favor the longer interval in order to avoid instability and distor-

² Leo J. Beranek, *Acoustic Measurements* (New York, 1949), p. 689.

³ The masking noise referred to here is that which is introduced *after* compression (channel noise and acoustic noise at the receiving location). Noise entering the system *prior* to compression (particularly circuit noise with amplitude similar to that of the weak consonants) will receive the same full amplification accorded the consonants. Thus, while the consonant-to-vowel ratio will be improved, the vowel-to-noise ratio will suffer. To prevent the latter condition from giving rise to a masking problem of its own, it is imperative that noise be minimized in the preamplifier. A noise level of -40 db. is usually acceptable in communications, so if it is planned to utilize 20 db. of compression, then a -60 db. noise level in the preamplifier is necessary. Acoustic background noise at the microphone site must likewise be controlled.

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¹ K. D. Kryter, J. C. R. Licklider, and S. S. Stevens, "Premodulation Clipping in AM Voice Communication," *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America*, No. 1 (January 1947), 125-131.

tion.⁴ This means that a weak sound such as a consonant, following immediately after a strong sound such as a vowel, will be compressed or limited along with the stronger sound. The bias voltage developed by the vowel for the purpose of lowering the system gain (limiting action) is still present upon the arrival of the consonant. The limiter, therefore, while effective in its normal application of controlling the dynamic range of the general sound level, is too slow for improving the consonant-to-vowel ratio within discrete words.

There was recently announced a new limiter design which features a release time of 22 milliseconds.⁵ This is almost ten times faster than the fastest conventional limiter. Considering the speed of this new circuit and the inherently lower distortion of limiters as opposed to clippers, the authors were prompted to compare the two systems in a word intelligibility test.

THE PROBLEM

The problem was phrased in the form of two specific questions:

1. What is the relative effectiveness, at moderate compression, of fast limiting and clipping in improving speech intelligibility in the presence of noise?
2. What is the relative effectiveness, at deep compression, of fast limiting and clipping in improving speech intelligibility in the presence of noise?

The term "moderate compression" was applied to a 10 db. increase of the input signal relative to the threshold of compression.⁶ The term "deep compres-

sion" was applied to a 20 db. increase of the input signal relative to the threshold of compression.

PROCEDURE

A typical speech clipper was constructed and, in conformity with standard communications practice, a 300-3000 cycle band-pass filter was used to suppress unwanted harmonics.⁷ The basic circuit is shown in Figure 1. Measurements revealed that 10 db. of clipping produced 16.8 per cent intermodulation distortion and 13 per cent harmonic distortion, while 20 db. of clipping produced 23 per cent and 18 per cent respectively.⁸ One of the fast limiters, the Limpander, Model LE-2, was obtained from the Electronic Systems Engineering Company, Oklahoma City, and the basic circuit is shown in Figure 2. It was found that 10 db. of limiting produced 11.9 per cent intermodulation distortion and 2.1 per cent harmonic distortion, while 20 db. of limiting produced 12.4 per cent and 4.6 per cent respectively. Figure 3 shows the effect of the two methods of compression on the shape of a 1 KC sine wave. Figure 4 shows the frequency response of both systems.

Two hundred and fifty phonetically balanced words were employed in the following manner. Fifty words, C.I.D. Auditory Test W-22, List 4A, were recorded on tape using 10 db. of limiting. Another fifty words, List 3A, were recorded with 20 db. of limiting. The same

put (as viewed on an oscilloscope) no longer increased proportionally with the advance of the linear-tapered gain control.

⁷ *The Radio Amateur's Handbook* (West Hartford, Conn., 1956), p. 248.

⁸ Intermodulation distortion was measured with a Heathkit, Model IM-1 distortion meter employing test signals of 60 cycles and 3000 cycles at a ratio of four to one. Harmonic distortion was measured with a Hewlett Packard, Model 330B distortion meter employing a test signal of 1000 cycles.

⁴ Donald E. Maxwell, "Dynamic Performance of Peak-Limiting Amplifiers," *Proceedings of the I.R.E.*, XXXV (November 1947), 1350.

⁵ Donald B. Daniel, "The Consonant Amplifier-Limiter," *Radio and Television News* (March 1957), 49-51.

⁶ Threshold or 0 db. of compression was established as that preamplifier gain setting which would drive the clipper or fast limiter just short of the point where a sine wave out-

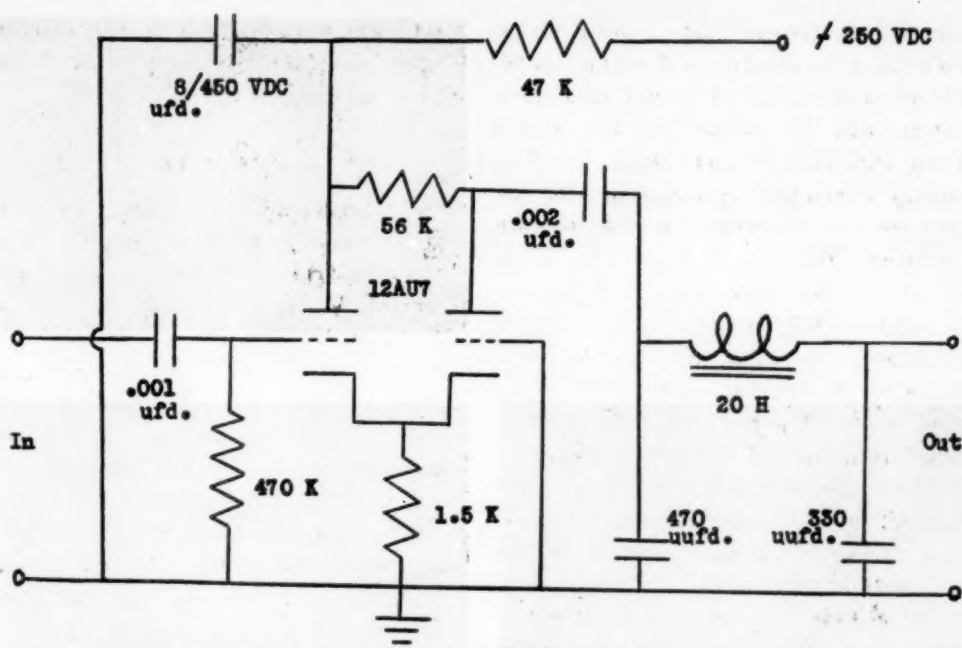


FIGURE 1. Speech clipper with low-pass filter. Positive and negative peaks of the waveform are clipped by driving the output section of the 12AU7 alternately to cut-off and to plate-current saturation.

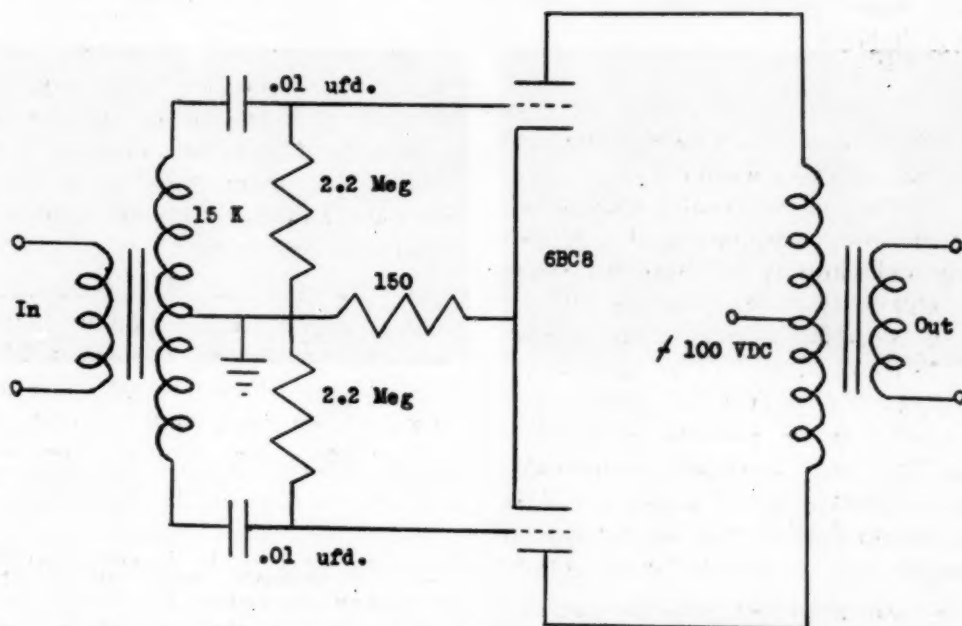
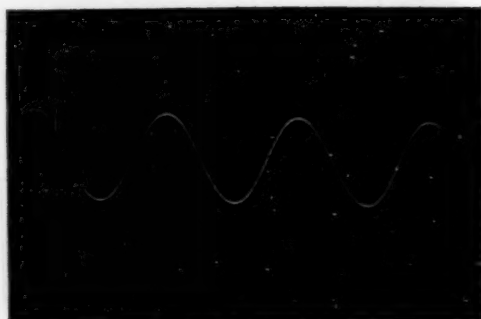


FIGURE 2. Simplified fast limiter diagram showing the essential push-pull grid bias features. Note the low-impedance driving source and the RC time constant of $2.2 \times .01 \times 10^{-6}$ or 22 milliseconds. The 6BC8 is a variable μ tube. When the input signal exceeds the cathode bias, the grids draw current and charge the coupling capacitors, thus creating an additional grid bias which reduces the μ or gain of the amplifier. Distortion produced by the non-linear operation is predominantly even-order harmonic and is largely phase cancelled in the push-pull configuration. In the actual circuit several stages are cascaded to provide the desired amount of limiting within acceptable distortion limits.

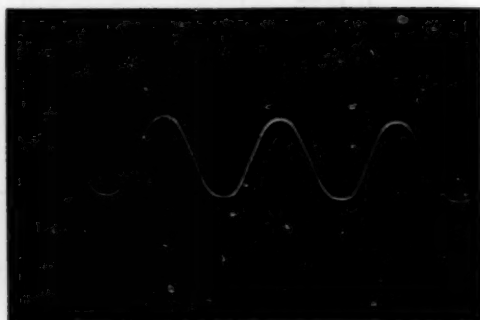
FIGURE 3. Showing 1 KC oscillographic waveforms taken at the output terminals of each system of compression.



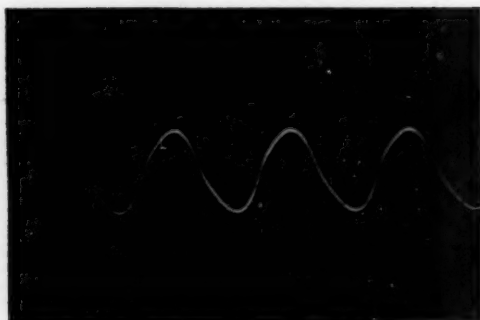
0 db. Compression



10 db. Fast Limiting



20 db. Fast Limiting



10 db. Clipping-Filtering



20 db. Clipping-Filtering

two word lists were then recorded using 10 db. and 20 db. of clipping. A fifth recording, List 2E, was made without compression as a condition of control. These two hundred and fifty recorded words were dubbed on to another tape along with white noise at 3 db. below the speech level. This operation was a mixing process involving no compression. The composite tape was then separated into five shorter tapes, each repre-

senting different methods and degrees of speech compression in the presence of noise, for random presentation in subsequent tests. Word presentation order within each tape remained the same.

Thirty speech students, twenty women and ten men, were screened for normal hearing and used as subjects in the study. Each subject listened to all the test words in a sound-treated studio over

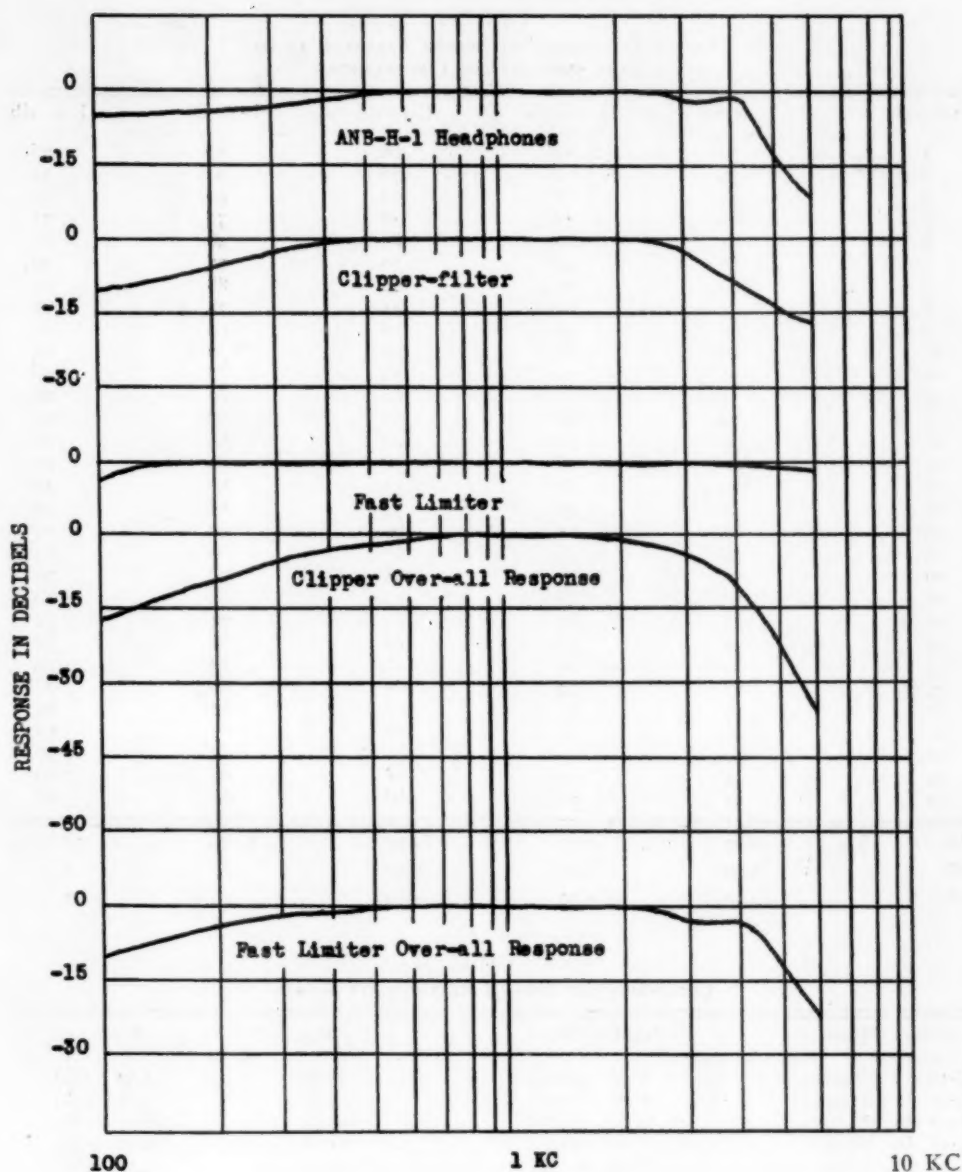


FIGURE 4. Frequency response of both systems of compression.

ANB-H-1 headphones at a level of 70 db. (re $.0002 \text{ dyne/cm}^2$). The subject tried to identify each word by repeating it over a studio microphone. This procedure was followed for each of the thirty subjects.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Each error in identification subtracted 2 per cent from the subject's score for that particular condition of compression. The total data appear in Table I. Referring to Table II it will be noted

TABLE I
GROUP INTELLIGIBILITY SCORES ARRANGED AS TO
TYPE AND LEVEL OF COMPRESSION

Subjects	0 db	C-10 db	C-20 db	L-10 db	L-20 db
1	52	64	60	88	76
2	50	72	76	94	84
3	54	74	78	90	90
4	62	70	48	78	72
5	64	80	66	96	84
6	56	58	50	76	70
7	60	70	62	88	86
8	54	64	44	78	72
9	60	56	58	90	82
10	50	62	50	90	68
11	58	70	70	88	86
12	54	58	60	84	86
13	72	68	68	88	82
14	72	70	62	86	86
15	62	56	76	90	84
16	60	64	50	80	80
17	52	58	74	88	78
18	64	68	66	90	74
19	58	46	60	80	84
20	54	50	48	76	70
21	52	66	54	88	80
22	54	64	60	74	72
23	48	58	68	86	76
24	54	62	46	84	76
25	62	72	64	90	78
26	52	64	60	82	66
27	58	66	66	82	78
28	52	50	60	72	76
29	54	74	68	86	80
30	52	50	66	82	68
Mean	56.87	63.47	61.27	84.80	78.13
SD	5.90	8.06	9.10	5.87	6.50
SE	1.10	1.50	1.69	1.10	1.20

TABLE II
COMPARISON OF MEAN INTELLIGIBILITY SCORES

Larger Mean	Smaller Mean	D_m	t
C-10 db (63.47)	0 db (56.87)	6.60	3.54 (1%)
C-20 db (61.27)	0 db (56.87)	4.40	2.18 (5%)
L-10 db (84.80)	0 db (56.87)	27.93	18.01 (1%)
L-20 db (78.13)	0 db (56.87)	21.26	13.12 (1%)
L-10 db (84.80)	C-10 db (63.47)	21.33	11.46 (1%)
L-20 db (78.13)	C-20 db (61.27)	16.86	8.14 (1%)
L-10 db (84.80)	L-20 db (78.13)	6.67	4.11 (1%)
C-10 db (63.47)	C-20 db (61.27)	2.20	.97 (not sig)

that each of the four conditions of compressed speech resulted in significantly higher intelligibility scores than the control condition of no compression. Fast limiting produced significantly higher scores than the corresponding conditions of clipping. All t 's were cal-

culated on the basis of unrelated measures, i.e. no r was used to lower the standard error.

All findings involving both compression circuits were well beyond the 1 per cent level of confidence. Moderate compression produced significantly better

results in the case of fast limiting than did deep compression. With clipping, on the other hand, the difference was not significant.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In an effort to test the hypothesis that fast limiting is superior to clipping as a technique for improving the intelligibility of speech in the presence of noise, the two methods of compression were employed in making tape recordings of phonetically balanced words. These recordings were then mixed with white noise and played back to thirty subjects who tried to identify the test words. The study sought to answer the following two questions:

1. What is the relative effectiveness, at moderate compression, of fast limiting and clipping in improving speech intelligibility in the presence of noise?
2. What is the relative effectiveness, at deep compression, of fast limiting and clipping in improving speech intelligibility in the presence of noise?

In answer to the first question, it was found that moderate fast limiting produced significantly higher intelligibility scores than moderate clipping. The difference in mean scores yielded a t of 11.46 (1 per cent). This was taken to mean that, as regards moderate compression, fast limiting is apparently more effective than clipping. In answer to the second question, it was found that fast limiting produced significantly higher intelligibility scores than clipping when both were at deep compression. The difference in mean scores yielded a t of 8.14 (1 per cent). This was taken to mean that, as regards deep compression, fast limiting is apparently more effective than clipping.

Implications for further investigation of the uses of fast limiting as an aid to intelligibility include the consideration of optimum operational parameters. Relationships, for example, between amounts of compression and various signal-to-noise ratios may afford fruitful areas for study.

THE EFFECT OF INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS UPON ACHIEVEMENT AND ATTITUDES IN COMMUNICATION SKILLS*

SAMUEL L. BECKER and CARL A. DALLINGER

The method used to communicate the "content" of a course in communication skills has little effect upon the acquirement of skills or on the knowledge which the student gains of the principles of speaking, writing, reading, and listening. Hearing the regular classroom instructor in the face-to-face situation, viewing television recordings made by "experts" in each subject area, and reading comparable material in textbooks and journals seem to be equally effective as methods for handling this aspect of the course. Instructor differences are, in general, independent of the teaching methods compared.

COLLEGES and universities which attempt to integrate the teaching of reading, writing, speaking, and listening in courses in communication skills face two major problems in the years immediately ahead: (1) the instruction of many more students without a proportionate increase in staff; (2) obtaining instructors adequately prepared in all of the four areas named.

A few institutions give graduate students "on the job" training as teaching assistants in communication skills courses, but graduate programs specifically designed to prepare persons to handle all of the phases of instruction with equal competence have not been

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*This paper summarizes the monograph, *Communication Skills: An Experiment in Instructional Methods* (Iowa City: The State University of Iowa, 1958), of which these writers were senior authors. It also includes the results of certain analyses completed after the appearance of the original publication. The study was supported in part by the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

developed. That such programs will be developed in the immediate future is unlikely because there is little opportunity for professional recognition and advancement for those so prepared. Rather, the prospect is that for some time the majority of instructors teaching communication skills will continue to be trained either in English or in speech. Hence, their preparation will be one-sided, and lacking in certain of the basic subject areas they are called upon to teach.

In view of this situation, these questions may be asked: (1) Can we compensate for limitations in the preparation of instructors, provide better "on the job" training for staff members, and raise the level of instruction in communication skills courses by utilizing "experts" to present the basic principles of communication to students? (2) Can we maximize the use of instructional resources by making each student more directly responsible for his own training, without reducing the quality of the education he receives?

In an effort to provide at least partial answers to these questions, during the academic year 1957-1958 the State University of Iowa compared experimentally the effectiveness of three methods of teaching the communication skills course. These were: (1) the method then and presently in use—hereafter called the "normal" method—which makes the individual instructor directly responsible for training his students in all of the

skills and content areas covered in the course; (2) a method of teaching—hereafter called the “bibliography” method—designed to make the student more self-reliant by reducing from four to three the number of formal class meetings each week, and presenting the basic principles of the course as normally covered in lectures and discussions in a bibliography of assigned and optional readings; (3) the presentation of the basic principles of the course by “experts,” through the use of kinescopes, supplemented by the discussion of the principles so presented and their application in performances under the guidance and criticism of the classroom instructor. This third method will hereafter be called the “kinescope” method.

PROCEDURE

The experiment was conducted with the two major communication skills courses at the State University of Iowa, the two-semester “main” course and the one-semester “accelerated” course. Each year between 15 and 20 per cent of the freshmen admitted to the university are permitted to take the accelerated course. These are freshmen who are high in academic aptitude and who have a reasonably high level of skill in speaking and writing. In this experiment only the normal and bibliography methods were used with accelerated students. In the two-semester main course all three methods were used.

In both the main and the accelerated course students were randomly assigned to one of the sections scheduled at the hour for which they had registered. Each section was then assigned one of the three instructional methods. In the case of the sixty-three main course sections, one-third of the classes held at each of the six hours the course was offered were assigned to the normal method of in-

struction, one-third to the bibliography method, and one-third to the kinescope method. Accelerated course students were assigned in a like manner to normal and bibliography sections. Instructors were randomly assigned to sections, except for the following considerations: (1) instructors teaching more than one section of the course were assigned to sections within the same treatment group (all normal, all bibliography, or all kinescope); (2) an effort was made to achieve a balance of experienced and inexperienced instructors among the three methods.

Since the main course extended throughout the year, a method of pre-registration was arranged so that each student would continue in the same section and under the same instructor. If a student found it necessary to change to another hour, he was required to enroll in a section taught by the same method as the one in which he had previously been enrolled. In so far as possible, instructors continued with the same classes.

In order to facilitate the measurement of instructor differences, all but one of the classes taught by any instructor who had more than one section of the course were eliminated by a random selection method. Also, classes in which the same instructor did not continue into the second semester were eliminated, since the achievement of students in these sections might have been influenced by the change of instructors rather than by the teaching method. Students for whom complete pre-examination and achievement examination scores could not be obtained were likewise eliminated. This left for the main course study 582 students distributed among 36 sections, taught by 36 different instructors. Twelve of these sections were taught by the normal

method, 13 by the bibliography method, and 11 by the kinescope method. The accelerated course analyses were based upon 176 students in 9 sections taught by 9 different instructors. Of these sections, 4 were taught by the normal method, and 5 by the bibliography method.

Included in the planning of the experiment was the preparation of syllabi for the bibliography sections of the accelerated course and for the bibliography and kinescope sections of the main course. No syllabi were prepared for the normal sections of either course, since one of the assumptions underlying this method is that instruction is more effective when the individual teacher has full responsibility for his class, adapting materials, methods, and rate of presentation to student needs.

Twenty-eight half-hour kinescopes were used in the kinescope sections. Twenty-six of these were produced at the State University of Iowa and two were made by the late Irving J. Lee of Northwestern University. Since the kinescopes were viewed as projected films, and not on television monitors, classrooms were provided which could be darkened in such a way as to permit note-taking during the projection of the kinescopes.

At least one copy of each of the items assigned for required or optional reading in the bibliography sections was put on "reserve" circulation in the university library. Methods of stimulating and checking on the reading done by students in these sections were left to the classroom instructors.

Criterion Measures. Eight instruments were used in the pre-test and post-test evaluations:

1. "English Composition." A multiple-choice examination covering punctuation, capitalization, grammar, choice of

words, appropriateness of usage, sentence sequence, and the organization of ideas.

2. "Reading Comprehension." A power test of reading comprehension.

3. "General Vocabulary."

4. "Brown-Carlson Listening Comprehension Test."

5. "Principles of Communication Skills." A multiple-choice examination covering the principles of writing and speaking, with emphasis on purpose, organization, support of ideas, language, and basic bibliographical and footnote forms.

6. "Expository Theme." An original theme, at least 450 words in length. Each student was given two hours in which to write the theme, which was judged on the basis of purpose, content, organization, sentence structure, diction, and mechanics. Each pre-test theme was rated by one experienced staff member; each post-test theme by two or three staff members, with an additional reader added in those cases where disagreement among the original judges was marked. Different topics were used for the pre-test and post-test themes.

7. "Argumentative Speech." A four-minute extemporaneous speech for which each student was given fifty minutes to prepare. The speech was judged on the basis of central idea, analysis, supporting material, organization, language, adjustment to speaking situation, bodily action, voice, articulation and pronunciation, fluency, and general effectiveness. Each pre-test speech was rated by one or two staff members, each post-test speech by three to five staff members.

8. "Attitudes Toward Communication." A multiple-choice questionnaire designed to measure how important the respondent felt various aspects of the communication skills to be. In order to

minimize response bias, an attempt was made to disassociate this questionnaire in the minds of respondents from the communication skills course and from this experiment.

These tests were supplemented by questionnaires designed to elicit from instructional staff and students their reactions to the three methods of instruction.

Treatment of Data. Simple analyses of variance¹ were made to test the homogeneity of the main course sections and the accelerated sections on each of the pre-test measures and also on the Entrance Composite Percentile Rank, which has been found to be a reliable measure of academic aptitude.² In these and all other analyses or tests of significance, the 5 per cent level of confidence was pre-set as the level at which to reject the hypothesis of no difference.

To test the difference between methods of instruction and between sections using the same method, a groups-within-treatments analysis of covariance design, with the individual as the unit of measurement, was used.³ Separate analyses were made for the accelerated course and the main course, and for each criterion measure. In each case, the post-examination was the criterion measure and the corresponding pre-examination the control variable. The groups-within-treatments design, with the individual student as the unit of measurement, permitted some measurement of instructor

differences. Where analysis indicated that the hypothesis of no differences in achievement between sections within each method was not tenable, the test for differences between methods of instruction was made with a groups-within-treatments design with the section mean, rather than the individual, as the unit of measurement.⁴

In order to test whether the achievement of students of varying academic ability was differently affected by the three methods of instruction, achievement in speaking, theme writing, listening, and knowledge of the principles of communication for each method of instruction and for different levels of academic aptitude was tested with analyses of variance, utilizing a treatments-by-levels design.⁵ To set the levels of academic aptitude, separate frequency distributions on the Entrance Composite Percentile Rank were obtained for both main course and accelerated course students. Each group was divided into four approximately equal-sized levels. Scores were randomly eliminated in such a way that for each analysis, there were the same number of students from each method at each level.

Chi-square tests were run on the student questionnaire data to see whether experience with one method affected student attitude toward this and other methods. Theoretical cell frequencies were not great enough to permit the calculation of chi-squares with the faculty attitude data.

RESULTS

In order to minimize redundancy, we shall concentrate here on the results of the main course experiment, except in those instances where the accelerated course results were essentially different

¹ E. F. Lindquist, *Design and Analysis of Experiments in Psychology and Education* (Boston, 1953), p. 56.

² The Entrance Composite Percentile Rank of a student indicates the per cent of students whose total scores fell below his total score. The composite score is obtained by summing a student's percentile ranks on English placement, vocabulary, reading comprehension, and mathematics tests. This composite has been found to correlate highly with academic achievement in college as measured by overall grade point average.

³ Lindquist, *Design and Analysis*, p. 177.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 123.

or where it appears important to contrast the results obtained in the two courses.

Evidence supports the assumption that none of the main course sections differed significantly on any of the pre-test measures. At the end of the year, significant *instructor* differences were found for all but the vocabulary measures. Significant differences between *methods of instruction* were found for none of the criterion measures.

Since more of the variance was attributable to differences between instructors than to differences between methods of instruction, an attempt was made to find whether *systematic* differences between instructors existed. The two instructor variables examined were academic background (graduate work in speech vs. graduate work in English) and teaching experience (no experience, experience not in communication skills, experience only in communication skills, experience elsewhere and in communication skills). These variables of experience and background appeared to have a consistent effect only on the *theme* criterion. Experience in teaching communication skills or a background in English or literature seemed to increase the probability that a teacher's students would do better in writing. Unfortunately, there were not enough experienced speech or inexperienced English instructors to permit a further breakdown in order to isolate whether the differences found could be attributed solely to academic background or teaching experience.

In the methods-by-levels analysis of the scores on the examination over principles, no significant interaction was found between level of student aptitude and method of instruction, nor were significant differences found between methods of instruction. Table I shows

TABLE I
PRINCIPLES POST-EXAMINATION MEANS
BY LEVELS AND METHODS

	Normal Method	Bibliography Method	Kinescope Method	Total
Level of Academic Aptitude:				
1.	19.98	20.80	20.74	20.51
2.	18.77	18.93	19.40	19.03
3.	17.71	18.20	18.55	18.15
4.	16.26	15.87	16.08	16.07

the mean for each level and method on this examination. As expected, significant differences were found between levels of academic aptitude. These differences consistently favored the higher levels. The same results were found for the listening data and essentially the same results for the theme data. Quite different results were found, however, for the speech data. These are summarized in Table II. Again no significant interaction was found, nor were

TABLE II
SPEECH POST-EXAMINATION MEANS
BY LEVELS AND METHODS

	Normal Method	Bibliography Method	Kinescope Method	Total
Level of Academic Aptitude:				
1.	45.20	45.22	44.61	45.01
2.	47.17	44.53	43.77	45.16
3.	44.12	44.31	45.25	44.56
4.	44.26	43.26	43.31	43.61

significant differences found between methods of instruction. Significant differences were found between levels of academic aptitude. However, it was found that the lowest level was significantly lower than each of the other levels on the speech post-test, but that the other levels did not differ significantly from each other.

In the levels analyses of the accelerated course data, there were these important differences from the results of the main course analyses: Students receiving instruction by the normal method scored significantly higher on the

principles post-examination and the theme post-examination than did students receiving instruction by the bibliography method.

Analyses of the attitude toward communication measures secured near the end of the experiment showed no significant differences between instructors within each method or between methods of instruction. Significant differences were found, however, between main course and accelerated course students, with the latter group displaying more favorable attitudes toward the importance of the skills of communication. It is interesting to note that students in the accelerated course also averaged significantly higher attitude scores prior to the experiment and *before* they knew that they would be in the accelerated course.

Just before the end of the year students in the main course were asked their opinions concerning the three methods of instruction. Table III shows their reactions. The normal method of instruction was most favored and the bibliography method least favored. However, students who had been in a section taught by a particular method tended to be far more favorably disposed toward that method than students

who had received other types of instruction. These differences among the three groups of respondents were statistically significant. When students were asked the type of instruction which they believed "would be easier" and from which they believed they "would gain most," they again tended to favor the type used in the section in which they had been enrolled. Comparable results were obtained from the students in the accelerated course.

At the end of the experiment, the instructors clearly preferred the normal method. As in the case of the student responses, however, there was some tendency for those instructors who had taught by a particular method to look upon that method more favorably. Whether these differences were significant was not tested.

CONCLUSIONS

Within the limitations of this study, one may retain the hypothesis that students can acquire a knowledge of the principles of communication and achieve skill in speaking, writing, reading, and listening equally well from each of the methods of instruction tested. Because it permits the saving of classroom space and instructional time, the bibliography

TABLE III
IF THE COMMUNICATION SKILLS COURSE IS OFFERED NEXT YEAR IN THREE DIFFERENT WAYS AND A FRIEND OF YOURS HAS A CHOICE, WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF SECTIONS WOULD YOU ADVISE HIM TO TAKE?

Response	Normal	Group Biblio.	Kine.	Total
Section which meets four times a week, with approximately one class period a week devoted to lectures and discussion. [Normal]	78.8%	51.2%	27.2%	53.1%
Section which meets three times a week, rather than four, and has extra reading assignments to take the place of the lecture material. [Bibliography]	5.9	35.7	6.9	14.9
Section which meets four times a week, with approximately one class period a week devoted to viewing and discussing a film of a television lecture. [Kinescope]	15.3	13.1	65.9	32.0
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

method would appear to be the most efficient, while being at least as effective as the other methods.

Except for speech, students of greater academic aptitude tend to acquire knowledge and skill in communication better than do students of lesser ability. At none of the levels, however, do different methods of instruction appear to have differential effects.

The hypothesis that the attitude of students toward communication is affected in the same way by each of the methods of instruction may be retained. The hypothesis that attitudes of students towards these methods of instruction are affected equally by each method must, however, be rejected. Though students, in general, seemed to prefer the normal method of instruction, experience with either of the other methods tended to make them much more favorably disposed toward that method.

If it is important to faculty morale

that instructors favor the method of instruction which is used, the bibliography method of teaching communication skills will undoubtedly have a difficult time being adopted in the near future. The kinescope method would have only slightly less trouble. The choice would almost certainly be the normal method. Teachers feel that ample time is needed for class discussions. They apparently have little faith in the ability of freshman students to read, evaluate, and retain written material. The evidence would indicate, however, that much of this bias grows out of the fact that most instructors have had experience in teaching only some variation of what we have here called the normal method. Experience with the other methods would undoubtedly bring about more favorable attitudes toward them. This would seem to be consistent with research in other areas which has shown that legislation can lead, rather than follow, popular sentiment.